

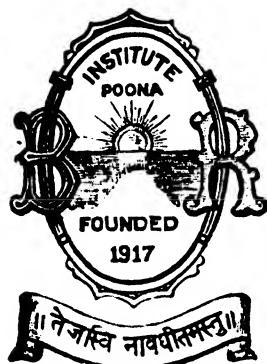
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COLLECTED WORKS
OF
SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR
VOL. III

COMPRISING EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN AND
MISCELLANEOUS HISTORICAL ESSAYS

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PREFATORY NOTE

This is the first volume of the collected works of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar to be published, though it is the third in the series of the four volumes over which his works extend. This is because the printing of the first volume, which began towards the middle of 1924, came to be interrupted by reasons beyond the control of the Bhandarkar Institute.

The second volume is now completely printed and it extends to 640 pages. With the necessary Indexes added, that volume too should, in the ordinary course of things, appear within the next two months. The fourth volume is also in press, and one part of it, namely, Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism &c., is more than half printed, and there is no reason why that part also should not be published before the present year is out. The first volume contains, generally speaking, all of the author's literary writings; the second, practically the whole of the literary part of his Reports on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, and his Socio-literary writings, including some characteristic writings of a religio-philosophic nature. The present volume, the third in order, contains his Early History of the Deccan and his other historical and inscriptional essays. The fourth volume, besides Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism &c. includes his Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prakrit Languages derived therefrom.

It may be added that the general outlines of the four volumes (with regard to their contents, arrangement, &c.) were settled in close consultation with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar himself. As a matter of fact, the idea of a complete edition of his writings was one of the chief tasks to which the management of the Institute devoted its close and early attention, and was steadily worked out in its initial stages with constant reference to the venerable scholar himself. It must be a matter of deep regret to the management of the Institute, as it undoubtedly is to the present writer, that it did not become possible for the author himself to see a part at least of

this edition published. I still vividly realise the glow of satisfaction and the sense of grateful appreciation that would at times come over the venerable face of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, when it became necessary for us all to consult him on any point connected with his works.

It would be seen that what this Edition contains is practically a mere reprint of the writings as they issued from his hands. It would be presumptuous to say that they are here edited ; at the same time, it is evident that some of his writings and statements need to be supplemented in the light of later advance in studies. I have not ventured on anything of that kind here : to me at least, the time would come after all the four volumes are published.

The preliminary matter and the Indexes etc. are, of course, made by me for this volume.

A word of thankful acknowledgement is due to G. N. Shrigondekar, Esqr., B. A., of the Bhandarkar Institute, and Mr. Joglekar, the Head Compositor and his Staff, for the labour and care they have bestowed on this volume. The work is printed at the Institute's own Press, newly started under the fostering care of Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, and, despite the occurrence of a few misprints, the staff is to be congratulated on having successfully and speedily produced this volume, which was amongst its earliest undertakings.

Deccan College, Poona
Rsipañcamī, Saka 1849 }
(1st September 1927)

N. B. UTGIKAR.

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EARLY
HISTORY OF THE DECCAN
DOWN TO THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUEST.

INTRODUCTORY.

INDIA has no written history. Nothing was known till within recent times of the political condition of the country, the dynasties that ruled over the different provinces which composed it, and the great religious and social revolutions that it went through. The historical curiosity of the people was satisfied by legends. What we find of a historical nature in the literature of the country before the arrival of the Mahomedans comes to very little.

(I.) We have a chronicle of Kashmir called the *Rājatarangini*, in which, however, there is a good deal which is not supported by contemporary evidence. Now and then, a bountiful prince or minister found a poet to sing his glories; and the works thus composed, contain a good deal of historical information, though, of course, an undue praise of the patron and his ancestors is to be expected. But a few such works only have hitherto been discovered; and the oldest of them gives an account of a prince who lived in the first half of the seventh century. The literature of the Jainas of the *Svetāmbara* sect contains accounts mostly of the later princes of Gujarat and other noted personages. There are also similar accounts of the princes of Rajaputana. In the beginning or at the end of some Sanskrit works the names of the princes under whose patronage or in whose reign they were composed, are given; and sometimes we find a long genealogy of the family to which the particular prince belonged, with some short observation with reference to each of his ancestors. Lastly, the *Purāṇas* contain genealogies of the most powerful royal families, which ascend to a higher antiquity than the works noticed hitherto.

(II.) But the information to be gathered from all these sources is extremely meagre; and there are many provinces on the history of which they do not throw any light. And the facts mentioned in them cannot be systematically arranged, or even chronologically connected, except with the assistance of other sources of information, to which we shall now proceed. The invasion of Alexander the Great brought the Greeks in contact with the Hindus; and his successors in Syria kept up an intercourse with the Indian emperors for a long time. The notices of Indian persons and events contained in the writings of the Greeks, when compared with the statements occurring in the Purāṇas, admit, in some cases, of an easy identification; and from the known dates of the corresponding Greek persons or events, we are able to determine those of the Indian persons or events. In this manner, the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty by Candragupta has been determined to be about 322 B. C., and a good many other dates in Indian history have been ascertained. The writings of Chinese authors also throw a great deal of light on some periods of Indian history. Buddhism was introduced in China in the first century of the Christian era; and from time to time men from that country came to India as pilgrims; and some Indian Buddhists also must have found their way to China. The Chinese pilgrims wrote accounts of what they saw and did in India, and these works, which have come down to us, are very valuable for the elucidation of Indian history. The Chinese possessed a perfect system of chronology, and the dates of the pilgrimages are useful for the purposes of the Indian antiquarian. Valuable accounts of India written by the Arabic visitors to the country in the Middle Ages have also become available.

(III.) Another very important source, and fuller than any hitherto noticed, consists of Inscriptions. Some of these are cut on stones or rocks, and others engraved on copperplates. These last are in all cases charters conveying grants of land made mostly by princes or chiefs to religious persons or to temples and monasteries. A great many of these are dated in one of the current eras. It is usual in these charters to give the pedigree of the grantor. The

names of his ancestors together with some of their famous deeds are mentioned. As the authors who composed the grants cannot be expected to be impartial in their account of the reigning monarch, much of what they say about him cannot be accepted as historically true. And even in the case of his ancestors, the vague praise that we often find must be regarded simply as meaningless.² But when they are represented to have done a specific deed, such as the conquest of Harsavardhana by Pulakes'i II. of the early Cālukya dynasty, it must be accepted as historical; and when we have other sources available, we find the account confirmed, as Hwhan Thsang does that of Pulakes'i's exploit. Even in the case of the reigning monarch, the specific deeds such as wars with neighbouring princes, which are mentioned, may be accepted as historical; though, however, legitimate doubts may be entertained as regards the reported results.

The stone-inscriptions are intended to commemorate the dedication of a temple or monastery or any part thereof, and of works of public utility such as tanks and wells, and sometimes grants of land also. A good many of these benefactions are by private individuals; but not seldom the name of the king, in whose reign the dedication was made, is given together with the year of his reign, as well as the date in the current era. When it is a royal benefaction that is commemorated, we have a longer account of the reigning prince, and sometimes of his ancestors.

The great pioneer in the deciphering and interpretation of inscriptions was James Prinsep; but no great progress was made after him, in this branch of antiquarian work, till the establishment of the " Indian Antiquary " and the institution of the Archæological Survey. These gave a strong impetus to it, and many scholars entered into the field with zeal. Twenty years ago, it would have been impossible to write the following pages.

(IV.) I must not omit to mention old coins as a valuable source of information as to the names of the successive monarchs of a dynasty, and sometimes their dates. A study of these too has led to very important results.

The materials for the history of the development of Indian thought and of changes in the social condition are the whole literature itself. But this is an independent inquiry with which we are not here directly concerned; and the conclusions arrived at are applicable to the whole Hindu race, and not to any particular province. I have consulted general literature only in discussing points concerning the Aryan settlement of the Deccan. The materials used in the preparation of the other sections, which fall under each of the four classes noticed above, are as follows:

(I.)—Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāñkacarita*, Introduction to the *Vratakhaṇḍa*, Introduction to Jahlaṇa's anthology, Purāṇic genealogies, and scattered notices in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*; Hāl's *Saptas'atī*, Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, *Kavirahasya*, Digambara Jaina works—such as the *Harivāṇīs'a*, the *Uttara Purāṇa*, the *Yas'astilaka*, the *Pras'ottararatnamalikā* &c., Vijñāṇes'vara's *Mitākṣarā*, the *Abhilashītārthacintāmaṇi*, the *Basava Purāṇa*, the *Lekhapañcāśikā*, the *S'abdārṇavacandrikā*, the *Jñāṇes'varī*, and a few others.

(II.)—Ptolemy's Geography, the *Periplus*, Hwhan Thsang's Itinerary.

(III.)—Inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India; Rudradāman's inscription at Junagad; stone inscriptions in the Southern Maratha Country; copperplate charters of the early Cālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and other dynasties, of which we have now a large number.

(IV.)—Coins of the Sātavāhanas found at Kolhapur and in the lower Godavari district.

Since the political history of the Deccan before the advent of Mahomedans was entirely unknown before, and the difficulty of ascertaining facts is very great, my object has been to collect as many of them as possible. The absence of proportion in the space allotted to important and unimportant events due to this circumstance, will, it is hoped, be excused. This does not pretend to be a literary production, but merely a congeries of facts.

SECTION I.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD "DECCAN" AND ITS DENOTATION.

THE word " Dakkhan " represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Daksīna, meaning " southern," used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmadā. The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is Daksīnāpatha or " the Southern Region." That this name was in ordinary use in ancient times is shown by the fact that the author of the Periplus calls that portion of the country Dakhinabades.¹ In the vernacular or Prakrit speech of the time, the Sanskrit Daksīnāpatha must have become Dakkhinābadha or Dakkhināvadha by the usual rules, and the Greek writer must have derived his name from this popular pronunciation. The shorter form of the name also must have been in use, since the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, Fah-Hian,² in the Chinese traveller, was told at Benares that there was a country to the south called Ta-Thsin, which word corresponds to the Sanskrit Daksīna.

Daksīnāpatha or Daksīna was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmadā. Among the countries enumerated in the Mārkandeya,³ Vāyu,⁴ and Mātsya⁵ Purānas, as comprised in Daksīnāpatha, are those of the Colas, Pāndyas, and Keralas, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula, and correspond to the modern provinces of Tanjor, Madura, and Malabar. In the Mahābhārata, however, Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pāñḍu princes, is represented in his career of conquest to have gone to Daksīnāpatha after having

1 Indian Antiquary, VIII. 143.

2 Travels of Fah- Hian by S. Beal, 139.

3 Chap. 57, Verse 45, Bibliotheca Indica Edition. The reading of the second line, however, is wrong. It ought to be, Pāñḍyāś ca Keralāś caiva Colāḥ Kulyāś tathaiva ca, as it is in the manuscript, I have consulted.

4 Chap. 45, Verse 124, Bibliotheca Indica Edition.

5 Chap. 112, Verse 46, Poona Lithographed Edition.

conquered the king of the Pāndyas.¹ This would show that the country of the Pāndyas was not included in Daksināpatha.. Again the rivers Godāvari and others springing from the Sahyādri, are spoken of in the Vāyu Purāṇa as rivers of Daksināpatha,² while the Narmadā and the Tāpi are not so styled; whence it would seem that the valleys of those rivers were not included in Daksināpatha. The word thus appears not to have been always used in the same sense. In modern times it is the name of the country between the Narmadā on the north and a variable line along the course of the Kṛṣṇā to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east. It is thus almost identical with the country called Mahārāṣṭra or the region in which the Marathi language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghāts and the sea being excluded. A still narrower definition is that which excludes from this tract the valleys of the Narmadā and the Tāpi; and to this extent we have seen that there is authority for it in the Vāyu Purāṇa. Thus the word Deccan expresses the country watered by the upper Godāvari and that lying between that river and the Kṛṣṇā. The name Mahārāṣṭra also seems at one time to have been restricted to this tract. For that country is, in the Purāṇas³ and other works, distinguished on the one hand from Aparānta or Northern Konkan, and from the regions on either side of the Narmadā and the Tāpi inhabited by the Pulindas and Śabarās as well as from Vidiarbha on the other. In a comparatively modern work entitled Ratnakos'a,⁴ Mahārāṣṭra Vaidarbha, Tāpi-tāta-des'a and the Narmadā-tāta-des'a (*i. e.*, the countries on either side of those rivers), and the Konkana are spoken of as distinct from each other. The Deccan or Mahārāṣṭra in this—the narrowest—sense of the word forms the subject of the present Notice.

¹ Sabhāparvan, Chap. 31, Verse 17, Bombay Edition.

² Chap. 45, Verse 104, Bib. Ind. Ed.

³ See the chapters of the three Purāṇas referred to in the preceding notes, on page 5.

⁴ Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 352.

SECTION II.

SETTLEMENT OF THE ĀRYAS IN THE DECCAN.

IT is now a recognised fact that the Āryas who came to India were at first confined to eastern Afghanistan and the Panjab. Thence they emigrated to the east, and for a time, the easternmost province occupied by them was Brahmaparta or their holy land, lying between the rivers Sarasvatī, the modern Sarasuti, and Drṣadvatī,¹ a stream in the vicinity, that is, the country about Thanesar. There the system of castes and orders and the sacrificial religion seem to have been fully developed. Thence they spread to the east and the south, and gradually occupied the whole country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya. This last mountain range must for a long time have formed the southern boundary of their settlements. For, the name Āryāvarta or the region occupied by the Āryas, as explained by Manu² and even by Patañjali,³ the author of the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini's grammar, signified exclusively the part of the country situated between those mountain ranges. The Vindhya, which by its height seemed to obstruct the passage of the sun, was impassable to them. The name Pāriyātra was given to the more northern and western portion of the range, from which the rivers Chambal and Betwa take their rise, probably because it was situated on the boundary of their Yātrā or range of communication. After a while, however, the sage Agastya, in poetical language, bade the mountain not to grow high, that is, crossed it and established an As'rama or hermitage to the south and thus led the way to other settlements. The first or oldest Aryan province in the southern country must have been the Vidarbhas or the Berars. For in the Rāmāyaṇa when Sugrīva, the monkey-king, sends his followers to the different quarters in search of Rāma's wife Sītā and Rāvana, her ravisher, directs them to go among other southern countries to Vidarbhas, Rālikas, and

1 Manu, II. 17.

2 Manu, II. 23.

3 Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya under Pāṇini, II. 4. 10.

Mahisakas, and also to Dandakāranya (the forest of Dandakā) and the river Godāvari.¹ This shows that while the country about the Godāvari, that is, the Deccan or Mahārāṣṭra in the narrowest sense of the terms, was a forest, Vidarbha was an inhabited country. In the Mahābhārata also, Agastya is represented to have given a girl that he produced by his miraculous powers to the king of Vidarbha, and after she had grown to be a woman, demanded her of the king in marriage.² In the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma is represented to have lived for a long time in Dandakāranya, at a place called Pañcavati situated on the banks of the Godāvari about two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya.³ That this Dandakāranya was the modern Mahārāṣṭra is shown by the fact stated above, that it was watered by the river Godāvari, and by several others. According to the Hindu ritual it is necessary when beginning any religious ceremony to pronounce the name of the country in which it is performed. The Brahmans in Mahārāṣṭra do not utter the name Mahārāṣṭra but Dandakāranya with the word des'a or "country" attached to it. In the introduction to Hemādri's Vratakhandā, a work written more than six hundred years ago, Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad, is spoken of as situated in a district on the confines of Dandakāranya. Nasik claims to be the Pañcavati where Rāma lived. But the poet could hardly be expected to have brought his hero from the Vindhya to such a remote westerly place as Nasik. The river Godāvari must, from the description occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa as well as in Bhavabhūti's Uttara-Rāmacarita, have been wide at Rāma's Pañcavati. It could hardly have been so at Nasik, which is very near its source. On the other hand, "the region about the northern part of the Sahyādri through which flowed the river Godāvari and in which Govardhana was situated" is in the Purāṇas represented as "the most charming on earth; and there, to please Rāma, the sage Bhāradvāja caused heavenly trees and herbs to spring up for his wife's enjoyment, and

1 Rāmāyaṇa, IV. Chap. 41, Bombay Edition.

2 Mahābhārata, Bombay Edition, III. Chap. 96, and 97.

3 Rāmāyaṇa, III. 13, 13, Bom. Ed.

thus a lovely garden came into existence."¹ In the Mārkandeya, Govardhana is spoken of as a town; but the Vāyu and the Mātsya seem to mean it to be a mountain. This Govardhana must from the given position, be the same as the village of the name near Nasik; and thus the three Purāṇas must be understood as supporting the identification of Pañcavati with Nasik.

But though Mahārāstra was the last country occupied by the Indian Āryas, their subjugation of it was no less thorough than that of all the northern countries. Here, as there, they drove some of the aborigines to the fastnesses of mountains and jungles, and incorporated the rest into their own society. The present Marathi language is as much an offshoot of the Sanskrit as the other languages of Northern India. The ancient representatives of these dialects—the Mahārāṣṭri, the S'auraseni, and the Māgadhi, as well as an earlier form of speech, the Pāli—show extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, reducible however to a few general laws. These cannot be accounted for by the natural operation of the causes which bring about the decay of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race. For, this operation is slow and must be in continuance for a very long time in order to produce the wide-going phonetic changes which we observe in those Prakrit dialects, as they are called. This long-continued process must at the same time give rise to a great many changes in other respects. Such, however, we do not find in those dialects, and they do not in those respects show a very wide departure from the Sanskrit. The extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, therefore, must be accounted for by the supposition that the language had to be spoken by races whose original tongue it was not. Those alien races could not properly pronounce the Sanskrit words used by the conquering Āryas; and thus the Prakrit forms of Sanskrit words represent their pronunciation of them. A few sounds unknown to Sanskrit as well as some words not traceable to that language are also found in the Prakrits, and these point to the

¹ Mārkandeya, Chap. 57, Verses 34-35; Vāyu, Chap. 45, Verses 112-114; and Mātsya, Chap. 112, Verses 37-39. The passage, however, is corrupt. The three Purāṇas evidently derive their reading from the same original, but the text has been greatly corrupted. The most ancient version of it seems to be that in the Vāyu.

same conclusion. It thus appears that the Indian Āryas in their progress through the country, came in contact with alien races, which were incorporated with their society and learnt their language, at the same time that they preserved some of their original words and phonetic peculiarities.¹ This was the state of things in the North down to the Maratha country. But farther South and on the eastern coast, though they penetrated there and communicated their own civilization to the aboriginal races, inhabiting those parts, they were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their civilization. On the contrary, the Āryas had to learn the languages peculiar of those races and to adopt a portion at least of their civilization. Thus the Kanarese, the Telugu, the Tamil, and the other languages now spoken in Southern India, are not derived from the Sanskrit but belong altogether to a different stock, and hence it is also that Southern Art is so different from the Northern. The reason why the result of the Āryan irruption, was so different in Southern India from what it was in the North, appears to be that when the Āryas penetrated to the South, there existed already well-organized communities and kingdoms. In the passage in the Rāmāyana, referred to above, the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Āndhras (Telugu people), the Pāndyas, the Culas, and the Keralas, in the South; and are told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pāndyas adorned with gold and jewels. And these races, their country, and their kings are alluded to in other Sanskrit works, as will be noticed hereafter. In the North, however, at the time of the Āryan invasion, the condition of the country must have been similar to that of Dandakāranya, which is represented in the Rāmāyana as a forest infested by Rāksasas or wild tribes, who disturbed the religious rites of the Brahman sages. And throughout the older portion of Sanskrit literature, which is to be referred to the times when the Āryas were gradually progressing from the Panjab, the wild tribes they met with, are spoken of under the name of Dasyus, Rāksasas, and others.

¹ These points I have developed in my Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages : pp. 46 f. (Edition of 1914).

SECTION III.

APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE ĀRYAN SETTLEMENT IN THE DECCAN AND NOTICES OF SOUTHERN INDIA IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE AND INSCRIPTIONS.

WE will now endeavour to determine approximately the period when the Āryas settled in Dandakāranya, and trace the relations between the civilized Āryan community of the North and the Southern country at different periods of Sanskrit literature and at well-known dates in Indian history. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, which is anterior to the whole of the so-called Classical Sanskrit literature, the sage Viśvāmitra is represented to have condemned by a curse the progeny of fifty of his sons to "live on the borders" of the Āryan settlements, and these, it is said "were the Āndhras, Pundras, Śabarās, Pulindas, and Mūtibas, and the descendants of Viśvāmitra formed a large portion of the Dasyus."¹ Of these the first four are spoken of as people living in the South, the Pundras in the Rāmāyaṇa, and the other three in the Purāṇas.² From the later literature, the Pulindas and Śabarās appear to have been wild tribes living about the Vindhya.³ Ptolemy places the former along the Narmadā. The Āndhras, who in these days are identified with Telugu people, lived about the mouth of the Godāvari or perhaps farther to the north. If these were the positions of the tribes in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Indian Āryas must at that time have been acquainted with the whole country to the north of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

Pāṇini in his Sūtras or grammatical rules, shows an extensive knowledge of the geography of India. Of the places and rivers mentioned by him a good many exist in the Panjab and Afghanistan; but the names of countries situated in the eastern

¹ Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 18. Pulindas are omitted in the corresponding passage in the Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra.

² See the Purāṇic passages above referred to.

³ In his Kādambarī, Bāṇa places the Śabarās in the forest on the Vindhya range.

portion of Northern India also occur in the Sūtras. The countries farthest to the South mentioned by him are Kaccha (IV. 2. 133), Avanti (IV. 1. 176), Kosala (IV. 1. 171), Karūṣa (IV. 1. 178)¹ and Kalinga (IV. 1. 178).² The first is the same as the modern country of that name, Avanti is the district about Ujjayini, and Kalinga corresponds to the modern Northern Circars. Kosala Karūṣa, and Avanti are mentioned in the Purāṇas as countries situated on the back of the Vindhya.³ In the Ratnāvalli, a dramatic play, Kosala is also placed near that mountains range. Supposing that the non-occurrence of the name of any country farther South in Pāṇini's work, is due to his not having known it, a circumstance which, looking to the many names of places in the North that he gives, appears very probable, the conclusion follows that in his time the Āryas were confined to the north of the Vindhya but did proceed

1 This name does not occur in the Sūtra, but is the second in the list of Gaṇa beginning with Bharga. As regards the words occurring in these Gaṇas, I have on a previous occasion expressed my opinion that though it is not safe to attribute a whole Gaṇa to Pāṇini (and in several cases we have clear indications that some of the words were inserted in later times) still the first three words might without mistake be taken to be his. This was objected to by Professor Weber. But as my reasons were, as I thought, obvious, I did not think it necessary to defend my view. I may, however, here state that since Pāṇini refers to these Gaṇas in his Sūtras by using the first word in the list with ādi, equivalent to "and others" added to it, and since he uses the plural of the noun so formed, and the plural of a noun cannot be used unless three individuals at least of the class are meant, it is proper that we should understand him to be thinking of the first and two words at least more. This observation is meant to be applicable generally. In the present case, however, the expression Bhargādi forms a part of the compound, and the plural is not actually used, thought it is clearly implied.

2 In the so-called Pāṇiniya Śikṣā, the expression Saurāṣṭrikā nārī or "a woman of Surāṣṭra" occurs. But this should by no means be regarded as showing that Pāṇini was acquainted with Surāṣṭra. The Pāṇiniya Śikṣā cannot be the work of Pāṇini; for the author of that treatise begins by stating that he is going to explain Śikṣā according to the views of Pāṇini, and ends with a few verses in praise of the great grammarian. Besides, the author notices the Prakrit dialects to which there is no allusion whatever in Pāṇini's great work, and writes in verse. Grammatical treatises in verse are later than those in the form of Sūtras. The Pāṇiniya Śikṣā therefore must have been composed long after Pāṇini.

3 See the Purāṇic passages cited above.

or communicate with the northern-most portion of the eastern coast, not by crossing that range, but avoiding it by taking an easterly course.

Kātyāyana, however, the object of whose aphorisms called Vārtikas is to explain and supplement Pāṇini, shows an acquaintance with southern nations. Pāṇini gives rules for the formation of derivatives for the names of tribes of warriors which are at the same time the names of the countries inhabited by them, in the sense of "one sprung from an individual belonging to that tribe," and also, it must be understood, in the sense of "king of the country." Thus a man sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pāncālas, or the king of the country Pāncālas, is to be called Pāncāla; a descendant of a Sālva, or the king of the country of the Sālvās, is to be called Sālveya, &c. Kātyāyana notices here an omission; the name Pāndya is not explained by Pāṇini. Kātyāyana therefore adds, "one sprung from an individual of the tribe of Pāndus or the king of their country, should be called a Pāndya."¹ Similarly, Pāṇini tells us that in either of these senses, no termination should be appended to the word Kambojas, which was the name of a non-Āryan people in the north-west, nor should any of its vowels be changed; but that the word Kamboja itself means "one sprung from an individual of the Kamboja tribe, or the king of the country of the Kambojas."² Kātyāyana says that in this rule, the expression "and others" should be added to the word Kambojas; for the rule applies also to the names "Colas and others," that is, persons sprung from an individual of the Cola and other tribes, and the kings of the Cola and other countries should be called by the names "Cola and others." Similarly, Pāṇini tells us that the countries Kumudvat, Nadvat, and Vetasvat are so called because they contain Kumudas or water-lilies, Nadas or reeds, and Vetas or canes, respectively.³ Kātyāyana adds, "Mahismat is so called because it contains Mahisas or buffaloes."

Now Mahismat appears to be the same southern country which in the Purāṇas is associated with Mahārāstra and is called Mahisakas. Māhiśmatī on the banks of the Narmadā was probably

1 Pāndor dyaṇ, which is a Vārtika on Pāṇini, IV. 1. 168.

2 Pāṇini, IV. 1. 175.

3 Pāṇini, IV. 2. 87.

its capital. Here we may, I think, argue, as Professor Goldstücker has done in many similar cases, that had Pāṇini known the Pāṇḍyas, Colas, and Mahiṣmat, he would not have omitted the names from his rules, considering how careful a grammarian he was. Very likely, then, he did not know them, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact alluded to above, that the name of no other southern country occurs in his Sūtras. Thus then, the Āryas of the North were not familiar with the southern countries and tribes in the time of Pāṇini, but were so in the time of Kātyāyana. The latter author also mentions a town of the name of Nāsikya,¹ which is very likely the same as our modern Nasik.

Patañjali shows an intimate acquaintance with the South. As a grammarian he thinks it his duty to notice the lingual usages in the South, and tells us that in Daksināpātha the word 'sarasi' is used to denote large lakes.² He mentions Māhiṣmati,³ Vaidarbha,⁴ Kāñcipura⁵ the modern Conjeveram, and Kerala⁶ or Malabar. Patañjali's date, B. C. 150, may now be relied upon. That author notices variant readings of Kātyāyana's Vārtikas as found in the texts used by the schools of the Bhāradvājiyas, Saunāgas, and others. Some of these might be considered as emendations of the Vārtikas, though Patañjali's introduction of them by the verb pañhanti, "they read," is an indication that he regarded them as different readings. A sufficiently long time therefore must have elapsed between Kātyāyana and Patañjali to give rise to these variants or emendations. I am therefore inclined to accept the popular tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas, and to assign to him the first half of the fourth century before Christ. In this manner the interval between Kātyāyana and Patañjali was about two hundred years. Now Professor Goldstücker has shown from an examination of the Vārtikas that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pāṇini but are taught by Kātyāyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pāṇini's time. I have followed up the argument

1 In a Vārtika on Pāṇini VI. I. 63.

2 Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, I. I. 19.

3 Under Pāṇini, III. I. 26.

4 IV. I. Fourth Āhnika.

5 IV. 2. Second Āhnika.

6 IV. I. Fourth Āhnika.

in my lectures "On the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages,"¹ and given from the Vārtikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, viz., either that Pāṇini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible; wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Pāṇini as found in the Bhāṣā or current language, not the Chāndasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be used instead.² Professor Goldstücker has also given a list of words used by Pāṇini in his Sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Pāṇini's time but was known to Kātyāyana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that elapsed between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Pāṇini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Kātyāyana to be as old as those which were old to Pāṇini. No less an interval of time than about three centuries can account for all these circumstances. Pāṇini, therefore, must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still; and against this conclusion, I believe no argument has been or can be brought, except a vague prejudice.—And now to our point.—The Indian Āryas had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century before Christ; they had gone as far as the Northern Circars by the eastern route, but no farther; and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with. About that time, however, they must have begun to penetrate still further, since they had already settled in or had communication with the countries on the northern skirts of the Vindhya and Kalinga, and first settled in Vidarbha or Berar, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route; but in the course of some time more, they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Dandakāranya along the banks of the Godāvari, that is, in

¹ Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit &c : pp. 28 f.

² Ibid, pp. 21 ff.

Mahārāstra or the Deccan. Before B. C. 350 they had become familiar with the whole country down to Tanjor and Madura.

A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so safe. Though a *Mahābhārata* existed before Pāṇini and Āśvalāyana, it is highly questionable whether our present text is the same as that which existed in their times. On the contrary, the probability is that the work has been added to from time to time; and the text itself has undergone such corruption that no one can be positively certain that a particular word was not foisted into it in comparatively modern times. The text of the *Rāmāyana* also has become corrupt, though additions do not seem to have been made to it. Still the Bengali recension of the poem like the Bengali recensions of more recent works does contain additions. The text prevalent in this part of the country and in the South is more reliable; and though innumerable differences of reading exist in the different manuscripts even on this side, still there is hardly any material difference. But the date of the *Rāmāyana* is uncertain; the present Hindu belief based on the Purāṇas is that Rāma's incarnation is older than Kṛṣṇa's, and consequently the *Rāmāyana* older than the *Mahābhārata*; but it is not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vāsudeva and Arjuna and to Yudhiṣṭhīra in Pāṇini, and Patañjali frequently brings in *Mahābhārata* characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Rāma or his brothers or their father Daśaratha in the works of those grammarians. Even a much later author, Amarasimha the lexicographer, in his list of the synonyms of Viṣṇu, gives a good many names derived from the Kṛṣṇa incarnation; but the name of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Rāma or Balabhadrā, the brother of Kṛṣṇa, is mentioned. Still, whatever chronological value may be attached to the circumstance, the occurrence of the names of places in the Deccan contained in those epics I have already to some extent noticed. Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Dravidas, Udras, Keralas, and Āndhras¹ and also to have visited Kiskindhā which was probably situated somewhere near Hampi, the site of the Pampā lake or river, where Rāma met Sugriva the monkey chief, though the country

¹ *Sabhāparvan*, Chap. 31 (Bombay Edition).

Kiskindhā is placed by the Purāṇas among those near the Vindh-yas. He went also to Sūrparāka, the modern Supara near Bassein, to Dandaka, the same as Dan-lakāranya but not mentioned as a forest, to Karahātaka, the modern Karhad on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Koinā, and to others. The countries mentioned in the passage in the Rāmāyana, alluded to above, as lying to the South are Utkala, (probably the modern Ganjam), Kalinga, Dasārṇa, Avanti Vidarbha, and others. The district near Bhilsā must have been called Dasārṇa in ancient times; for its capital was Vidiśā, which was situated, as stated by Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta, on the Vetravati or Betva, and is thus to be identified with the modern Bhilsa. All these are thus in the vicinity of the Vindhya, or nearly in the same line with it farther east. But between these and the southernmost countries of the Colas, Pāndyas, and Keralas, the Rāmāyana mentions no other place or country but Dandakāranya. This condition of the country, as observed before, is to be considered as previous to the Āryan settlements in the Deccan, while that represented by the Mahābhārata in the place indicated, seems subsequent; and herein we may see a reason for believing that the Rāmāyana is the older of the two epics. The name Mahārāstra does not occur in either of them.

In the middle of the third century before Christ, Aśoka, the great king of the Maurya dynasty, reigning at Pāṭaliputra in Magadha, speaks in the fifth Edict of his rock-inscriptions, which are found at Girnar in Kathiavad on the west, at Dhauli in Katak, and Jaugad in Ganjam on the eastern coast, at Khalsi in the Himālaya, at Shahbaz-garhi in Afghanistan, and at Mansehra on the northern frontier of the Panjab, of his having sent ministers of religion to the Rāṣṭikas and the Petenikas and to the Aparāntas.¹ The

¹ एव वाप्यन्ये प्रगताः: is the Sanskrit of the original Prakrit. It might be translated as "and also those other called Aparāntas," i. e. also that other country called Aparānta. If we take it in this way, Aparānta is clearly Northern Konkāna; for that is the name of that part of the country found in Sanskrit and Pali Literature from the remotest times. In the Mahāvāhiṇī and Dīpavāhiṇī quoted below, Mahārāstra is associated with Aparāntaka. It is possible to translate it as "and also other western countries" as M. Senart does. But the word "other" certainly refers to Rāṣṭika-Petenikanam and not to the preceding Yonam Kambojam &c., as he takes it, so as to make these last also western countries. (Inscriptions of Aśoka, Vol. II., p. 84).

last which we know best is Northern Konkanā, the capital of which was Sūrparaka. Petenikas is not unlikely the same as Paiṭhanakas, *i. e.*, the people or country about Paīthāna on the Godāvari. The vernacular pronunciation of the name of the city, which in Sanskrit is Pratisṭhāna, was in those days, as it now is, Pēthāna or Paiṭhāna, for both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy call it Paīthāna or Baīthāna. The Rāṣṭikas, or, according to the Mansehra version, Raṭrakas, corresponding to the Sanskrit Rāṣṭrikas, were very likely the people of Mahārāṣṭra, for a tribe of the name of Raṭṭas has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Deccan. One branch of it assumed the name of Rāstrakūṭas and governed the country before the Cālukyas acquired power. It re-established itself after about three centuries, but had to yield to the Cālukyas again after some time. In later times, chieftains of the name of Raṭṭas governed Sugandhavarti or Saundatti in the Belgaum district. In the thirteenth Edict, in which the countries where Aśoka's moral Edicts were respected are enumerated, the Petenikas are associated with Bhojas instead of Rāṣṭikas. Bhojas, we know, ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berar¹ and also in other parts of the Deccan. In the inscriptions in the caves at Kuda,² the name "Mahābhoja" or Great Bhoja occurs several times, and once in an inscription at Bedsa. Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahābhojas, the Rāṣṭrikas, Raṭṭis, Raṭṭhis, or Raṭṭhas called themselves Mahāraṭṭhis or Mahāraṭṭhas, as will be shown below, and thus the country in which they lived, came to be called Mahāraṭṭha, the Sanskrit of which is Mahārāṣṭra. In the second and the thirteenth Edicts, the countries of the Colas, Pāṇḍyas, Ketalaputras (Cera or Kerala), and the Āndhras and Pulindas are mentioned. Thus about a hundred years before Patañjali, the whole of the Southern peninsula up to Cape Comorin was in direct communication with the North, and the Deccan or Mahārāṣṭra had regular kingdoms governed by Raṭṭas and Bhojas.

1 In the Daśakumāracarita, the family of Bhojas has been represented as having held sway over the Vidarbha country for a long time.

2 Kuda inscriptions, Nos. 1, 9, 17, 19, 23, and Bedsa No. 2; Archaeological Survey of Western India, No. 10.

In the *Mahāvāmso*, a Ceylonese chronicle which was written in the third quarter of the fifth century of the Christian era, and in the *Dipavāmso*, which is much older, the Buddhist saint Moggaliputto, who conducted the proceedings of the third convocation, said to have been held in the time of Aśoka, is represented to have sent missionaries to Mahārattha, Aparāntaka, and Vanavāsi.¹ Whether the name Mahārattha or Mahārāṣṭra had come into use in the time of Aśoka, does not appear clear from this; but that it was used in the early centuries of the Christian era, admits of little doubt. In some inscriptions in the cave-temples at Bhaja, Bedsa, and Karli which are to be referred to the second century, the male donors are called Mahāraṭhi and the female Mahāraṭhini, which names, as observed before, correspond to Mahābhoja and Mahābhoji, and signify the great Raṭhi (man and woman).² Similarly, in the large cave at Nanaghat a Mahāraṭhi hero is mentioned. Of the old Prakrits the principal one was called Mahārāṣṭri, because we are told it was the language of Mahārāṣṭra. We have a poem in this dialect entitled *Setubandha* attributed to Kālidāsa and mentioned by Dandin, and a collection of amorous verses attributed to Śālivāhana. It is the language of Prakrit verses put into the mouths of women in Sanskrit dramatic plays. Its grammar we have in Vararuci's *Prākṛta-Prakāśa*; but the date of this author is uncertain, though there is reason to believe that he was one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya and was thus a contemporary of Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa. Though the date of Kālidāsa has not yet been satisfactorily determined,

¹ *Mahāvāmso*, Turnour's Ed., pp. 71 and 72, and *Dipavāmso*, Oldenberg's Ed., p. 54. The latter, however, omits Vanavāsi.

² Archaeological Survey of Western India, No. 10; Bhaja, No. 2; Bedsa No. 2; Karli Nos. 2 and 14. Pandit Bhagvanlal appears to me clearly wrong here in taking Mahāraṭhi to be equal to the Sk. Mahārathi and translating it as "a great warrior," for in Bedsa No. 2, a woman is called Mahāraṭhini where the word certainly cannot mean a great warrior, and to interpret it as "the wife or daughter of a great warrior" is simply begging the question. Mahāraṭhi appears clearly to be the name of a tribe and is the same as our modern Marāṭhā. It will appear from this inscription that there were intermarriages between the Mahābhojas and the Mahāraṭhis, for the lady mentioned in this inscription was the daughter of a Mahābhoja, and a Mahāraṭhini or the wife of a Mahāraṭhi.

still he is mentioned as a poet of great merit in the first half of the seventh century by Bāṇa in his *Harsacarita*, in the North,¹ and in an inscription at Aihole² dated 556 Śaka, in the South. A hundred years is not too long a period to allow for the spread of his fame throughout the country; perhaps it is too short. Kālidāsa may, therefore, be referred to that period of Sanskrit literature in which the nine gems flourished, and which has been placed by Dr. Kern in the first half of the sixth century.³ The Mahārāṣṭri dialect, therefore, in which Kālidāsa wrote the *Setubandha* and the Prakrit verses in his plays, must have undergone a course of cultivation for about two or three centuries earlier, and also called by that name, since it has been known by no other in the whole literature. Varāhamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Mahārāṣṭra as a Southern country; and in the Aihole inscription alluded to above, Mahārāṣṭra is mentioned as comprising three countries and ninety-nine thousand villages. Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, calls the country ruled over by the Cālukyas in the second quarter of the seventh century, Moholocha, which has been properly identified with Mahārāṣṭra. The occurrence of the name of Mahārāṣṭra in the Purāṇas has already been noticed.⁴

1 Dr. Hall's *Vāsavadattā*, Preface, p. 14.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 243.

3 Edition of Varāhamihira, Preface, p. 20.

4 Ante, page 6.

SECTION IV.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DECCAN OR MAHĀRĀSTRA ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVE-TEMPLES OF WESTERN INDIA.

No clue to the political history of Mahārāstra in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is now available. The Purāṇas contain lists of kings and dynasties whose chronology has been to some extent determined by their known connection with the successors of Alexander the Great; but clear traces of their occupation of the South have not yet been found. Candra-gupta, who founded the Maurya dynasty in about B. C. 320, ruled over Northern India as far as Kathiavad, and his grandson Aśoka, who reigned from B. C. 263 to B. C. 229, retained possession of the province.¹ The rock-inscriptions of the latter, which were evidently planted in the countries which owned his sway, show that his empire extended to Kalinga or the Northern Circars in the east and Kathiavad in the west. But stray Edicts have been discovered farther south; a fragment of the eighth being found at Supara and three minor ones on the northern frontier of Mysore. In the second rock-edict he speaks of his own dominions as "the conquered countries", and mentions Cola, Pāndya, Ketalaputta, and Satiyaputta down to Tambapanni or Ceylon as outlying provinces. These, therefore, did not own his sway. But in the fifth Edict he mentions the Rāṣṭrikas, Petenikas and Aparāntas and a few more provinces as those, for the benefit of which he appointed religious ministers. If these were as much a part of his dominions as the many others which are not named, there is no reason why they should be named. Again, he includes most of these in the thirteenth Edict, among countries which received his moral teaching, along with Cola, Pāndya and others, and the territories ruled over by Antiochus and four other Greek princes. It would thus appear that though the countries of the Rāṣṭrikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, and Aparāntas were not outlying provinces like

¹ See the Inscription of Rudradāman; Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 260, line 8.

those of the Colas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Ketalaputtas, they enjoyed a sort of semi-independence, and only owned allegiance to him as suzerain. The appearance of fragments of his Inscriptions at Supara and on the confines of Mysore is to be accounted for by this fact, or by the supposition that his dominions extended up to Supara on the Western coast, and along a strip in the centre of the peninsula to Mysore, leaving the western countries of the Rāṣṭikas, the Bhojas, and Petenikas, and the southern coast, in a state of semi-independence. And there is some positive evidence to that effect. Vidarbha, the country of the Bhojas, must have existed as a separate kingdom about that time. For in the dramatic play of Mālavikāgnimitra, the political events narrated in which, may be accepted as historical, Agnimitra—the son of Puṣyamitra, the first king of the Śunga dynasty, who reigned in the second and third quarters of the second century before Christ, is represented to have reigned at Vidiśā, which I have before identified with Bhilsā, probably as his father's viceroy. He had made proposals of marriage with Mālavikā to her brother Mādhavasena, the cousin of Yajñasena, king of Vidarbha. Between these cousins there was a quarrel as regards the succession to the throne. When Mādhavasena was secretly on his way to Vidiśā, the general of Yajñasena, posted on the frontier of the kingdom, captured him. His counsellor, Sumati, and Mālavikā escaped, but Mādhavasena was kept in custody. Thereupon Agnimitra demanded of Yajñasena the surrender of Mādhavasena. Yajñasena promised to give him up on condition that his wife's brother, who was the counsellor of the last Maurya king and had been imprisoned by Agnimitra, or his father Puṣyamitra, should be released. This enraged Agnimitra, who thereupon sent an army against Yajñasena and vanquished him. Mādhavasena was released, and the country of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, each ruling over each side of the river Varadā.

Paithan also must have been the capital of a kingdom about the time. In the Inscriptions in the caves at Pitalkhora near Chalisgaon, which from the forms of the characters in which they are engraved, must be referred to the second century before Christ, the religious benefactions of merchants from Pratisīhāna are recorded, as well as those of the physician to the king and of his

son and daughter.¹ The king referred to must be the ruler of Pratisthāna or Paithan. No more particular information is available. On the history of the early centuries of the Christian era and the first century previous, however, the Inscriptions in the cave-temples on the top of Sahyādri throw a good deal of light. I will here bring together the information deducible from them, noticing the Inscriptions in the chronological order, clearly determined by the forms of the characters.

An Inscription² in a small cave at Nasik mentions that the cave was scooped out by the lieutenant at Nasik of king Kṛṣṇa of the Śātavāhana race. In a cave at Nanaghat there is another, which is much mutilated, and the purport of which consequently is not quite clear. In that same cave, figures of persons are carved on the front wall, and the following names are inscribed over them : 1, Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhano, *i. e.*, King Simuka Śātavāhana; 2, Devi Nāyanikāyā rañño ca Siri Sātakanino, *i. e.*, of Queen Nāyanikā and King Śrī Sātakarnī ; 3, Kumāro Bhāyā, *i. e.*, Prince Bhāyā; 4, Mahāraṭhiganakayiro, *i. e.*, the heroic Marāṭhā leader or the hero of the Marāṭhā tribe; 5, Kumāro Haku Siri, *i. e.*, Prince Haku Śrī; 6, Kumāro Sātavāhano, *i. e.*, Prince Sātavāhana. Of these the second who has been mentioned along with his queen, must have been the reigning prince ; the first was an earlier king of the same dynasty, the fourth was a local Maratha warrior, and the rest were young princes of the Śātavāhana dynasty.

In another Nasik cave there are four Inscriptions. In the first we are told that the cave was caused to be constructed on mount Triraśmi in Govardhana or the Nasik District by the benevolent Usavadāta, the son-in-law of king Kṣaharāta Nahapāna and son of Dinika. Usavadāta gave away three hundred thousand cows; constructed flights of steps on the river Bārnāsāyā; assigned sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmaṇas; fed a hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas every year; got eight Brāhmaṇas at Prabhāsa or Somanath-Pattana married at his own expense; constructed quadrangles, houses and halting places at Bharukaccha or Bharoch, Dasapura in Malva, Govardhana, and Śorparaga, the modern Supara near Bassein;

¹ Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10. Inscriptions, pp. 39, 41.

² JBBRAS., Vol. VII, No. 6, Nasik Inscriptions ; and Transactions, Oriental Congress, 1874, p. 338.

made gardens and sank wells and tanks ; placed ferry-boats over the Ibā, Pārādā, Damanā, Tāpl, Karabenā and Dāhanukā, which were rivers along the coast between Thana and Surat ; constructed rest-houses and endowed places for the distribution of water to travellers on both sides of these rivers ; and founded certain benefactions in the village of Nānaingola, for the Caranas and Parisads (Vedic schools of Brāhmaṇas) in Pinditakāvada, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha, Śorparaga, and Rāmatirtha. One year in the rainy season he marched at the command of his lord to the relief of the chief of a tribe of Kṣatriyas called Uttamabhadras, who had been attacked and besieged by the Mālayas. At the sound of his martial music, the Mālayas fled away, and they were made the subjects of the Uttamabhadras. Thence he went to Poskarāṇi and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village.¹

In the second Inscription, Usavadāta is spoken of as having in the year 42 dedicated the cave monastery for the use of the Buddhist mendicant priests coming to it from the four quarters. He deposited with a guild of weavers residing in Govardhana a sum of two thousand Kārsāpanas at an annual interest of one hundred Kārsāpanas. Out of this interest he directed that a garment should annually be given to each of the twenty priests residing during the rains in his cave monastery. With another guild he deposited one thousand Kārsāpanas, the interest on which was seventy-five Kārsāpanas. Out of this, other things (Kuśana) were to be provided for the priests. The carrying out of these directions was secured by their being declared in the corporation of the town of Govardhana and inscribed on the door of the monastery. In the years 41 and 40, he gave away a large sum of money² for gods and Brāhmaṇas. The third Inscription, which is a short one, mentions that the apartment on which it is engraved was the religious benefaction of Usavadāta's wife, Dakhamitrā.³ The fourth is greatly mutilated, but sufficient remains to show that that also records similar gifts of Usavadāta's⁴. In the cave-temple of Karli there is an Inscription

¹ JBBRAS., Vol. VII., Nasik Inscriptions, No. 17 ; and Transactions, Oriental Congress, 1874, p. 326.

² JBBRAS., Nos. 18 and 16, which together form one inscription.

³ Ibid. First part of No. 16.

⁴ Ibid. No. 14.

in which Usavadāta is represented to have granted the village of Karjika for the support of the mendicant priests in the cave monastery of Valuraka, as the hill or the country about it seems to have been called at the time.¹ There also is given an account of his charities similar to that in the first of his Nasik Inscriptions. In an Inscription at Junnar, Ayama, the minister of the lord Nahapāna, the great Kṣatrapa, is mentioned as having caused a tank to be dug and a hall to be constructed.² The minister appears to have been a Brāhmaṇa, since he is spoken of as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra.

Next in order come the Inscriptions in which certain kings of the names of Gotamiputra Śātakarnī and Pulumāyi are mentioned. In the longest of the four, occurring in the cave-temple at one extremity of the hill at Nasik, we are told that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Pulumāyi, the son of Vāsisthī, the cave was caused to be constructed and dedicated for the use of Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrāyanīya sect by Gotami, the mother of king Śātakarnī Gotamiputra. She is there called "the mother of the great king and the grand-mother of the great king." Gotamiputra is spoken of as king of kings and ruler of Asika, Aśmaka, Mūlaka,³ Surāṣṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha and Akarāvanti.⁴ He was the lord of the mountains Vindhya-vat, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Kṛṣṇagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Śreshṭagiri, and Cakora. His orders were obeyed by a large circle of kings, and his feet were adored by them. His beasts of burden drank the waters of the three seas. He protected all who sought an asylum with him, and regarded the happiness and misery of his subjects as his own. He paid equal attention to the three objects of human pursuit, viz., duty, worldly prosperity,

¹ Archaeological Survey of Western India, No. 10; No. 13, Karli Inscriptions.

² Ibid., No. 25, Junnar Inscriptions.

² Aśmaka and Maulika are mentioned among the southern countries in the Purāṇas.

⁴ Surāṣṭra is Southern Kathiavad, Kukura, a portion of Rajputana, and Aparānta, Northern Konkan. Anūpa is mentioned in the Purāṇas as a country situated in the vicinity of the Vindhya-s. It was the country on the upper Narmadā with Māhiṣmatī for its capital, according to the Raghuvanśa. Akarāvanti must be the eastern portion of Malva.

and the satisfaction of desires, appointing certain times and places for each. He was the abode of learning, the support of good men, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only person of skill, the only archer, the only hero, the only protector of Brāhmaṇas. He conferred upon Brāhmaṇas the means of increasing their race, and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes. His exploits rivalled those of Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna, and Bhīmasena, and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhaṅga, Nahuṣa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma, and Ambarīṣa. He was descended from a long line of kings. He vanquished the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, quelled the boast and pride of Kṣatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, left no trace or remnant of the race of Khagārāṭa, and re-established the glory of the Sātavāhana family. In the last line of the Inscription, mention is made of the grant of a village for the support of the establishment in the cave-temple.¹

In a latter Inscription engraved in smaller characters below this, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Puṇumavi, the lord of Navanara, issues orders to Sarvākṣadalana, his lieutenant in Govardhana. He calls his attention to the fact that the village, granted by the "lord of Dhanakāṭa"² (Gotamiputra) in accordance with the above, was not liked by the Bhadrāyaṇiyas, and therefore assigns another to them by this charter.

On the wall to the left of the verandah of the cave is another Inscription. It purports to be an order or notice issued from the

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, Inscription No. 26, and Trans. Or. Congr. 1874, p. 307.

2 Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr. Bühler, whose transcripts and translations of the Nasik Inscriptions were published about ten years after mine, read the expression, thus understood by me, as धनकटसमनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटशमणीः. But what the Śramanas or Buddhist priests of Dhanakāṭa, which was situated hundreds of miles away on the lower Krṣṇa, could have to do with the matter of the granting of a village near Nasik to the Bhadrāyaṇiya mendicants of the place, it is impossible to conceive. The expression must, I think, be taken as धनकटसामिनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटस्वामिभिः or धनकटसामियेहि, corresponding to महासामियेहि in the first part of No. 25, the Sanskrit of which is महासामिकैः. The form सामिनेहि must have come into use on the analogy of such forms as अननेहि for आत्मामिः and गाजनेहि for गजभिः.

camp of the victorious army of Govardhana, by Gotamiputra Śātakarni, lord of Dhanakāṭaka, to Viṣṇupālita, his lieutenant in Govardhana, informing him that the king has granted a field measuring 200 Nivartanas, which was upto that time in the possession of one Uṣabhadāta, for the benefit of recluses. The charter here engraved is represented to have been originally issued in the year 18, that is, in the year preceding that, in which the cave-temple was completed and dedicated. Below this, is inscribed another charter issued in the form of an order to Śramaka, the governor of Govardhana, by the queen of Gotamiputra Śātakarni, who is also called the royal mother. She therein speaks of a field granted before, probably the one conveyed by the above charter, and says that it measures one hundred Nivartanas, and she assigns another hundred by this charter, out of a field belonging to the crown which was her patrimony. It appears that two hundred Nivartanas were granted by the first charter, but probably it turned out that the field measured one hundred only; hence she now makes it up by granting another hundred out of another field. The date of this grant is 24, i. e., it was made six years after the first.¹

Besides these, there are two Inscriptions at Nasik² recording the benefactions of private individuals, dated in the second and seventh years of the reign of Siri (Śrī) Pulumāyi, and two in the cave at Karli³ dated in the seventh and twenty-four years of his reign.

Since Gotamī is spoken of as the mother of a king and the grand-mother of a king, and the wife of her son Gotamiputra Śātakarni is represented as the mother of a king, and since the only other king besides Śātakarni, mentioned in these inscriptions, is Pulumāyi, it appears that this last was the grand-son and the son respectively, of these two ladies. He was therefore the son of, and his mother Vāsisthi the wife of, Gotamiputra Śātakarni. Śātakarni issued the charter contained in the second Inscription in the year 18, which must be the eighteenth year

¹ Ibid., No. 25.

² Ibid., Nos. 3 and 27.

³ Arch. Surv. West, Ind., No. 10; Nos. 14 and 20.

of Pulumayi's reign, since dates referring to his reign only are found at Nasik and Karli, and not to that of Gotamiputra. Even the date of the large Inscription noticed above, in which Gotamiputra's great deeds are recorded, is referred to Pulumāyi's reign. And the grant of the village, alluded to in that Inscription and the one below, appears to have been made by Gotamiputra, since he is spoken of as "the lord of Dhanakataka," though the portion of the rock containing the words that would have rendered the sense clear, has been cut away. Gotami is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, wherefore it must be understood she was alive at the time. The father and the son appear thus to have reigned at the same time, the son on this side of the country, since the Inscriptions are dated in his reign, and the father at Dhanakataka, which has been identified with Dharanikot in the Gantur district of the Madras Presidency. And this is confirmed by the fact, mentioned above, of Gotami's having been called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time.¹ Since the charter

1 Dr. Bühler (Arch. Surv. of west. Ind., Vol. IV, P. 110) supposes me to have rested my conclusion as regards this point on this statement alone, and calls it a mistake. But he will find my other reasons also stated in the remarks at the end of my article in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress of 1874. And even this statement has a very high corroborative value. For, if the object of the writer was to represent Gotami's "special claim" to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grand-mother of a king; and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and the grandson bore the title at different times. If the son was dead, no object is gained as regards this point, by saying she was the mother of that son, that is not gained by saying she was the grandmother of a living great king. And if it was a fact that Gotamiputra was dead when the cave-temple was dedicated, and Pulumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the Inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. If Pulumāyi became king only after Gotamiputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect, that a king who had been dead for nineteen years, should be highly extolled in the Inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.

of the year 24, intended as supplementary to that of 18, was issued by Vāsisthī, while the first was issued by her husband, it appears probable that Gotamiputra had died in the interval, and Vāsisthī reigned as regent at the capital, while Puṇumāyi continued to govern the Deccan or Mahārāṣṭra. The years given in the charter must be those of Puṇumāyi, since even the large Inscription is dated in the nineteenth year of his reign. These kings belonged to the Śātavāhana dynasty.

The names of other kings, apparently of the same dynasty, are found in other Inscriptions. In one of the caves at Kanheri near Thana, a grant is recorded in the eighth year of the reign of Madhariputra Śakasena.¹ In two other Inscriptions at the same place, the name of the reigning prince is given as Gotamiputra Śri Yañña Śātakarnī (Gotamiputra Sri Yajña Śātakarnī).² In one of these, the year that is given is not legible, but still appears to be the sixteen of his reign. There is one Inscription at Nasik which is dated in the seventh year of that king.³ Pandit Bhagvanlal has brought to light the name of another prince. There is, according to him, an Inscription on the Nana-Ghat in which is recorded the dedication of a cistern of water in the thirteenth year of Vāsisthiputra Catarapana Śātakani.

A large number of coins of copper and lead were discovered a few years ago, buried in what appears to have once been a Buddhist Stūpa at Kolhapur. Another hoard had been found some

¹ JBBRAS., Vol. VI, No. 19, and Vol. XII, p. 409. In the first copy the name is clearly Sakasenasa, but in the second, which is Pandit Bhagvanlal's rubbing, something like an effaced mark for the vowel *i* appears above the first two consonants. The Pandit, therefore, reads the name as Sirisenasa for Śrīsenasya, but the *k* is distinct even in his copy. *Siki* cannot mean anything, wherefore it appears that the indistinct marks which do not occur in the first copy are due to some flaw in the rock, and do not represent the vowel *i*. Dr. Bhau Daji also read the name as Sakasenasa. But the copy of the Inscription given in Plate LI, Vol. V of the Archaeological Survey of Western India and marked No. 14 leaves no doubt whatever on the point. The name there is distinctly Sakasenasa. Further confirmation if necessary will be found later on. It is, therefore, clearly a mistake to call the king Sirisena.

² JBBRAS., Vol. VI, Nos. 4 and 44.

³ JBBRAS., Vol. VII, No. 4, and Trans. Or. Congr., 1874, p. 339.

time previous, in about the same locality. The legends on those coins are in characters the forms of which greatly resemble those in the Cave Inscriptions above noticed. They are as follows :¹

Rāñño Vasithiputasa Vilivāyakurasa.

Rāñño Gotamiputasa Vilivāyakurasa.

Rāñño Madhariputasa Sevalakurasa.

Here we have the same names as before ; but the words Vilivāyakurasa and Sevalakurasa have not yet been interpreted by any student of Indian antiquities. On a former occasion I put forth a conjecture that they were the names of the viceroys of those kings appointed to govern the country about Kolhapur.² For, coins of two of these princes and of a few others belonging to the same dynasty are found near Dharanikot in the Gantur District about the site of Dhanakataka, the old capital. The legends on these do not contain those words, and the coins are of a different type from those found at Kolhapur. These last, therefore, it appeared to me, were struck on this side of the country, and consequently bore the names of the viceroys under whose authority they were issued. The truth of this conjecture I will demonstrate further on. It will be seen from what is to be stated hereafter, that the Vāsithiputa of these coins, who had Vilivāyaka for his viceroy, can be no other than Vāsisthiputra Pulumāyi. The Gotamiputa must be Gotamiputra Yajña Śātakarni of the Inscriptions ; for the father of Pulumāyi did not reign on this side of the country, as none of the Inscriptions are dated in his reign, though his exploits are described in the Nasik Caves. Madhariputa must have come after Goatmiputa and not after Vāsithiputa, as is maintained by some scholars ; for his viceroy was a different person from that of the other two. The fact that these two had the same viceroy shows that one of them immediately succeeded the other. Another prince with a different viceroy could not come between them. In the Stūpa dug out at

1 JBBRAS, Vol. XIII, p. 305, and Vol. XIV, pp. 153-54. There are in my possession coins of lead of the same size as those figured here, and a good many smaller ones in which I find the same legends as those given above. They also were found at Kolhapur. Some of the smaller ones appear to be of bronze.

2 JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 154.

Supra,; Pandit Bhagvanlal found a silver coin in a copper casket. On the obverse of the coin, which bears a well-shaped head of the king, we have the legend: Rañño Gotamiputasa Sri Yañña Sātakanisa, which means "[this coin is] of the king Gotamiputra Sri Yajña Sātakarni". This therefore is the prince in whose name the coin was issued. There is another legend on the reverse, which, though some of the letters are not distinct, appears to be: Gotamiputa-Kumāru-Yañña-Sātakani-Caturapanasa, the sense of which is "[this coin is] of Caturapana Yañña Sātakani, prince of Gotamiputa."¹ The coin was thus, like the Kolhapur coins, issued in the names of two persons; of whom Yajña Sri Sātakarni was the reigning sovereign, as his name appears round the bust, and Caturapana, who was his son, represented him as viceroy in the province in which the coin was issued, and which, from the shape and get-up of the coin, appears to have been once ruled over by the Ksatrapas of Ujjayini or Kathiavad.

There is an Inscription at Kanheri, which is in a mutilated condition, but which with the help of Mr. West's eye-copy and an impression given in one of Dr. Burgess' Reports has been partially restored by Dr. Bühler. Therein is made the dedication of a water cistern by Śateraka, who was the confidential councillor of the Queen of Vāsisthiputra Sātakarni, who belonged to the family of the Karddamakas, and was the daughter of a Mahāksatrapa, whose name is obliterated. The opening letters of the second line have also been effaced, but what we might expect to find there is

¹ The nether portions of the letters 'Caturapanasa' only, are impressed on the coin, so that the reading is somewhat doubtful; but panasa is distinct enough. Pandit Bhagvanlal puts Caturapanasa at the beginning of the legend, and reads Caturapanasa Gotamiputa Kumāru Yañña Sātakani, which he translates "Yajña Sātakarṇi, son of Gotamiputra, and prince of Caturapana"; and states his belief that Caturapana was the name of Yajña Sri's father. But to connect Kumāru, which forms a part of a compound, with the genitive 'Caturapanasa', is grammatically not allowable; while the genitive, which is always required to show whose coin it is, is wanting. Hence Caturapanasa is the last word and the whole is a compound; Kumāru is probably a mistake for Kumāra and Yañña Sātakani is the father's name placed before Caturapanasa to show that he was his son. (JBBRAS, Vol. XV, pp. 305-6)

the name of her son, after we have had those of her husband, family, and father. From the letters in West's copy, which look like Sakarāja, one might think the son meant was Śakasena; still the conjecture is somewhat hazardous.¹ The name of this Vāsiṣṭhiputra is Śātakarnī, wherefore he was not Pulumāyi, but very likely Catusparna (Catarapana) Śātakarnī.

Thus then, from these Inscriptions and coins, we arrive at the names of the following kings, arranged in the chronological order, indicated by the forms of the characters used, and by other circumstances :

Kṛṣṇarāja.

Śātakarnī.

Kṣaharāta Nahapāna, and his son-in-law, Usavadāta.

Gotamiputra Śātakarnī.

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi.

Gotamiputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarnī.

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Catusparna (Caturapana or Catarapana).

Maḍhariputra Śakasena.

Besides these, we have the name of Simuka Śātavāhana, a king that reigned earlier than the second in the above list. We shall hereafter assign to him his proper place.

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. VI, and Archæol. S. of W. I., Vol. V, Inscription No. 11; also p. 78 of the latter. There would be nothing improbable in it if we here read the name of Śakasena. For this name and that of his mother Maḍhari, point to a connection with the Śakas whose representatives the Kṣatrapas were, and this connection is unfolded in this Inscription.

SECTION V.

NATIVE AND FOREIGN PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORMER WITH THE ĀNDHRABHRTYAS OF THE PURĀNAS.

The first thing that will strike one, on looking at the list given at the end of the last section, is that the name Kṣaharāta Nahapāna is not Indian but foreign. The title Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa also, used in the case of that king, is not Indian, though it is the Sanskritised form of a foreign one, very likely the Persian Satrap. From the statement in the Inscription of Gotamiputra, that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, it appears that the country was at that time very much exposed to the inroads of these foreigners. Yavanas were the Bactrian Greeks, but Kṣaharāta Nahapāna does not look a Greek name. He must, therefore, have been either a Śaka or Pahlava. Again, we are told that Gotamiputra left no remnant of the race of Khagārāta or Khakhārāta, which name seems to be the same as Kṣaharāta or Kṣaharata, as it is spelt in the Karli and Junnar Inscriptions. It follows, therefore, that the Śakas or Pahlavas made themselves masters of the country, some time between the second king in the above list and Gotamiputra Śātakarṇi, and that they were driven out by Gotamiputra who, by thus recovering the provinces, lost to his dynasty, re-established, as stated in the Inscription, the glory of the Śātavāhana race to which he belonged. All the other kings named above belonged to that dynasty.

Now, in the Purānas we have lists of kings and dynasties that ruled over the country. The earliest dynasty with which we are here concerned is the Maurya, founded by Candragupta in B.C. 320, as determined by his relations with Seleucus, one of the generals and successors of Alexander the Great. It ruled over Northern India for 137 years according to the Purānas, and the last king Brhadratha was murdered by his general Pusyamitra or Puspamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty. This was in power for 112 years, and was succeeded by the Kanva family, which ruled for

forty-five years. The Kānyas were overthrown by Sipraka, Sindhuка, or Sisuka, as he is variously named, who founded what the Purāṇas call the dynasty of the Āndhrabhrtyas, that is, Āndhras who were once servants or dependents. The second king of this dynasty was Kṛṣṇa according to all, the third was Śātakarṇi or Sri-Śātakarni according to the Vāyu or Viṣṇu, while the Bhāgavata corrupts the name slightly to Śāntakarna. The Mātsya interposes three more kings between Kṛṣṇa and Śātakarni, while the Viṣṇu has another Śātakarni to correspond with that of the Mātsya. Gotamiputra is the thirteenth prince according to the Vāyu, fifteenth according to the Bhāgavata, seventeenth according to the Viṣṇu, and twenty-second according to the Mātsya. Pulimat, Purimat or Puromat, was his successor according to the Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavata, or the Mātsya. These are so many mislections for the Pulumāyi of our Inscriptions and coins. The Vāyu omits his name altogether. His successor was Śiva-Śri, according to the Viṣṇu and the Mātsya, while the Bhāgavata calls him Vedasiras, and the Vāyu does not notice him. Yajñi-Śri occurs in all, being placed after Śivaskandha, the successor of Śiva-Śri, by all except the Vāyu, which assigns to him the next place after Gotamiputra.

Thus then, the names occurring in the Inscriptions and on the coins, as well as the order, sufficiently agree with those given in the Purāṇas under the Āndrabhrtya dynasty, to justify us in believing that the kings mentioned in both are the same. There is, however, no trace of Catusparṇa Śātakarni unless we are to identify him with Candra-Śri Śātakarni. The name Madhariputra Śaka-sena also does not occur in the Purāṇas; and he appears to have belonged to a branch of the dynasty. We shall hereafter assign to him his place in the list. Simuka, whose name occurs in the Nanaghat Inscription, and who, as I have already observed, was an earlier occupant of the throne than the reigning prince Śātakarni, the third in the Purānic list, must be the same as Śisuka, the founder of the dynasty. For the Devanāgarī *ma* is often so carelessly written as to look like *sa*; hence the true Simuka was corrupted to Sisuka, Śisuka, Śisuka in the course of time. The Sindhuка of the Vāyu and the Sipraka of the Viṣṇu are further corruptions. This identification is rendered probable also by the con-

sideration that he who caused the cave to be constructed, and the statues of himself and the younger princes to be carved, might, to give dignity to his race, be expected to get the founder of the dynasty also represented there, especially as he was removed only one degree from him. In this manner the Āndhrabhr̥tya dynasty of the Purāṇas is the same as the Sātavāhana dynasty of the Inscriptions.

SECTION VI.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ĀNDHRA BHĀRTYAS OR ŚĀTAVĀHANAS.

The next question we have to consider is as regards the dates of these princes. In my paper on the Nasik cave Inscriptions¹, I have accepted A. D. 319 as the date of Gotamiputra's accession, arrived at by taking B. C. 315 as the year in which Candragupta founded the dynasty of the Mauryas at Pāṭaliputra, and 664 years to have elapsed between him and Gotamiputra, since the periods, assigned in the Purāṇas to that dynasty and the subsequent ones, and the durations of the reigns of the Āndhrabhbītya princes, who preceded Gotamiputra, when added, give according to the Mātsya 664. The "race of Khaṣārāta," which Gotamiputra is, as observed before, represented in one of the Nasik Inscriptions to have exterminated, I there identified with the dynasty of the Ksatrapas, whose coins, as well as a few inscriptions, are found in Kathiavad, since Kṣaharāta or Khagārāta was also a Ksatrapa, and had been placed at the head of the dynasty by previous writers. The latest date on the coins of those princes then known was 250, which referred to Saka era, is A. D. 328. This comes so close to Gotamiputra's A. D. 319, that the two seemed to corroborate each other. But there are several objections to this view, some of which occurred to me even then. (1)—The inscriptions and coins of the Ksatrapa dynasty concur in carrying the genealogy backward to Caṣṭana and no further, and as yet nothing has turned up to show that any connection existed between him and Nahapāna. (2)—If the Ksatrapa or Satrap dynasty held sway over Mahārāṣṭra for about three hundred years, as it did over Kathiavad, we might reasonably expect to find in that country Inscriptions or coins of most of the princes; but a few coins of the later ones only have been discovered in a village near Karad,² and no inscription whatever. (3)—Rudradāman in his Junagad Inscription calls Śātakarnī 'lord of Dakṣināpatha', which he would not have done, if he had been the ruler of even a part of the Deccan. (4)—And the dates occurring on

¹ Trans. Or. Congr., 1874.

² JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 16.

some Satrap coins recently discovered, are said¹ to be 300 and 304, which referred to the Śaka, are A. D. 378 and 382, that is, the Satraps were in power even long after A. D. 340, which is the date of Gotamiputra's death according to the Purānic accounts. For these reasons it would appear that the "race" of Khagārāta or Nahapāna, which Gotamiputra put an end to and which ruled over this country before him, could not have been the dynasty of the Satraps. (5)—Besides, according to my former view, the interval between Nahapāna and Gotamiputra is about 200 years; but the difference in form between the characters in Uśavadāta's and Gotamiputra's Inscriptions is not great enough for that period. Hence the two princes must be brought closer together.

From the Greek geographer Ptolemy, we learn that in his time the country inland from the western coast was divided into two divisions, of which the northern was governed by Siro Polemios whose capital was Paithan, and the southern^{*} by Baleocuros who lived in Hippocura. Siro Polemios is evidently the same name as the Siri Pulumāvi or Pulumāyi of the Inscriptions, corresponding to the Pulomat, or Pulimat of the Purāṇas. But there were two kings who bore that name, one the son of Gotamiputra, mentioned in the Inscriptions, and another, an earlier prince of the Andhrabhrtya dynasty. This last does not appear to have been a prince of any note; wherefore, very likely the former is the one spoken of by Ptolemy. But the question is almost settled by the mention of Baleocuros as the governor of the Southern provinces. We have seen that in the legends on the Kolhapur coins, the name Vilivāyakura is associated with that of Pulumāyi and of Gotamiputra. Vilivāyakura is the same as Baleocura, and I have already stated, that the reason why his name, in my opinion, occurs along with those of the two princes of the Śatavāhana dynasty, and on Kolhapur coins alone, while it does not occur on those found in the lower Godāvari districts, is that he was the viceroy of those princes ruling over the country about Kolhapur. This country answers to the southern division mentioned by the Greek geographer as being governed by Baleocuros. The Siro Polemios therefore of Ptolemy is the same as the Pulumāyi of the Inscriptions and coins.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 57, Note, and General Cunningham's Arch. Report, Vol. XI., p. 127.

Ptolemy died in A. D. 163, and is said to have written his work after A. D. 151. Puluniāyi, therefore, must have been on the throne some time before this last date. We will now proceed to reconcile this date with those mentioned in the Inscriptions, and to determine more particularly the date of Pulumāyi's accession. Some of Uṣavadāta's benefactions were founded in the years 40, 41 and 42, and the latest date connected with Nahapāna is that in the Inscription of his minister Ayama at Junnar, viz., 46. These dates should, I think, be referred to the Śaka era. For, we have seen that before the time of Gotamīputra, the country was subject to the inroads of Śakas and other foreign tribes, and the Scythians who are identified with the Śakas had, according to the Greek geographers, established a kingdom in Sind and even in Rajputana. The era known by the name of Śaka, and referred to in all the early copper-plate grants as the era of the Śaka king or kings, must have been established by the most powerful of the Śaka invaders,¹ who for the first time obtained a permanent footing in

1 Prof. Oldenberg thinks Kaniṣka to be the founder of the era; but this view is, I think, untenable. (1)—A dynasty of three kings only cannot perpetuate an era. The dynasty of the Guptas, composed of seven kings, was in power for more than a hundred and fifty years, but their era died a natural death in the course of a few centuries. (2)—The characters in Kaniṣka's Inscriptions, especially the ya as conjoined with a preceding consonant, are later than those we find in the first century. One has simply to compare Inscription No. 1 in Plate XIII of the third volume of General Cunningham's Arch. Rep. with No. 4 to see the great difference in the forms of the letters in the times of the earliest Kṣatrapas and of Kaniṣka. The former belongs to the time of the Kṣatrapa Śodasa and the letters are almost like those we find in Uṣavadāta's Inscriptions at Nasik; while those in the latter, which is dated in the ninth year of Kaniṣka, are considerably later; and both the Inscriptions exist in Mathurā. (3)—There is no ground to believe that Kaniṣka reigned over Gujerat and Mahārāṣṭra, but the Śaka era began to be used very early, especially in the last country. (4)—The Guptas whose gold coinage is a close imitation of that of the Indo-Scythian dynasty, came to power in A. D. 319; while the last of the three kings Kaniṣka, Huṣka, and Vāsudeva must, if the reign of the first began in A. D. 78 have ceased to reign about A. D. 178, i. e., about 100 years after the foundation of the dynasty. And the latest date of Vāsudeva is 89. If so, an interval of 140 years must have elapsed between the last of the Indo-Scythian kings and the first Gupta; but the close resemblance in the coins necessitates the supposition that it was much

the country; and Nahapāna, and Caṣṭana¹ or his father, must have been his Satraps appointed to rule over Western India, and Malva. On this supposition the latest date of Nahapāna must correspond to A. D. 124. Gotamiputra or Pulumāyi therefore must have acquired possession of this country after that year. The earliest date of Pulumāyi occurring in the Inscriptions is the second year of his reign; and since the inscription could not have borne that date, if Nahapāna or his successors had been in power, it is clear that Pulumāyi began to reign after the overthrow of the latter. Now, we also learn from Ptolemy that Tiastenes reigned at Ozene about the time when he wrote, and was therefore a contemporary of Pulumāyi. Tiastenes has, I think, been reasonably identified with Caṣṭana. But according to the Junagad Inscription, noticed above, Caṣṭana's grandson Rudradāman was the reigning prince in the year 72, which, taking the era to be the Śaka, is 150 A. D. Caṣṭana and Pulumāyi therefore could not have been contemporaries in 150 A. D. Ptolemy's account must, in consequence, refer to a period much earlier, *i. e.* to about the year 132 A. D., since about eighteen or twenty years at least must be supposed to have elapsed between the date of his information when Caṣṭana was on the throne and the year 150 A. D. when his grandson was in possession of it, his son Jayadāman having occupied it for some time in the interval. Again, in the nineteenth year of Pulumāyi, Gotamiputra was in possession, according to the large Inscription at

shorter. Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era was 241 Śaka, *i. e.*, 319 A. D., has been pronounced unreliable by some antiquarians. As to this point and the era of the Satrap dates, see Appendix A.

1 Professor Oldenberg considers Caṣṭana to be a Satrap appointed by Gotamiputra, a supposition which is unwarrantable, since a prince like Gotamiputra, whose aim was to expel and destroy foreigners, cannot be expected to appoint a foreigner, as Caṣṭana's name indicates he was, to be a viceroy, and to use a foreign title; and we have seen that Baleocuros, who was a viceroy of that monarch or of his son, does not use that title. Rudradāman, the grandson of Caṣṭana, appointed, as we see from his Junagad Inscription, a Pahlava of the name of Suviśākha, who was the son of Kulaipa, to govern Surāṣṭra and Ānarta. This circumstance confirms what we gather from other sources, namely, that this was a dynasty of princes of a foreign origin, who had adopted Hindu manners and even names, had in some cases entered into marriage alliance with native royal families, and were domiciled in the country.

Nasik, of a good many of those provinces which, according to the Junagad Inscription, were conquered and ruled over by Rudradāman. The date 72 in the Inscription seems to refer to the being swept away, by a storm and excessive rain, of the dyke on one side of the lake therein mentioned, and not to the cutting of the Inscription on the rock. So that it is doubtful whether Rudradāman had conquered those provinces before 72, or did so after 72, and before the incision of the Inscription. Supposing he conquered them before 72, the nineteenth year of Pułumāyi must correspond at least to the secend or third year before A. D. 150, that is Pułumāyi must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A.D. 130. And even if we understand him to have conquered them after 72, Pułumāyi's accession cannot be placed much later, for the interval between Caṣṭana, who was Pułumāyi's contemporary, and his grandson Rudradāman, who was reigning in 150 A. D., will be considerably shortened. Nahapāna or his successor must thus have been overthrown by Gotamiputra or Pułumāyi about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, viz. A. D. 124.

The history of the relations of these princes appears to be this. Nahapāna was a Satrap ruling over Mahārāṣṭra. His capital was probably Junnar, since the Inscriptions at the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have a record there of the gift of his minister. He must have died soon after 42 Saka or A. D. 124. Gotamiputra and Pułumāyi came from the south-east, to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapāna's successor, whoever he was, killed all his heirs, and re-established their power over this side of the country. This appears to be what is meant by Gotamiputra's having been represented in the Nasik Inscription to have "left no remnant of the race of Khagārāta," and to have "regained the prestige of his family." Caṣṭana founded or belonged to another dynasty of Satraps which reigned at Ujjayini. In the Junagad Inscription, men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradāman and chosen him their lord for their protection ;¹ and he is spoken of as

¹ The expression is सर्ववर्गभिगाय अपार्य गतित्वं वृत्तेन. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 260, l. 9.

having re-established the kingdom that had been lost,¹ as having assumed the title of the Great Kṣatrapa, and conquered Akarāvanti, Anūpa, Surāṣṭra, Aparānta and other provinces, which, as we have seen, were owned by Gotamiputra and some more ; and as having twice subdued Śātakarnī, the lord of Dakṣināpatha, but still not destroyed him, in consequence of his connection² with him not being remote, and acquired a good name on that account.

The meaning of all this appears to me to be this. Gotamiputra Śātakarnī, after having destroyed Nahapāna or his successor, turned his arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjayinī. Or, the Kṣatrapa sovereign of Ujjayinī, Castana, or very probably his son Jayadāman, having observed the growing power of Gotamiputra or Pulumāyi, who had put an end to a kindred family of rulers, and desirous of preventing his further growth, must have attacked him. A fact such as this must be the basis of the popular stories about a king of Ujjayinī having attacked Śālivāhana at Paithan and been defeated by him. Śālivāhana is but another mode of pronouncing Śātavāhana ;³ and Pulumāyi or Gotamiputra was a Śātavāhana. The ruler of Ujjayinī was

1 In Pandit Bhagvanlal's transcript in Vol. VII, Ind. Ant., the reading is ब्रह्मराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन. But in a foot-note Dr. Bühler says that the correct reading may be राज्य for राज. In Dr. Bhau Daji's copy of the Inscription, the ज्य is distinct; JBBRAS, Vol. VII p. 118, Bhau Daji and Pandit Bhagvanlal translate this expression by "obtained glory of great exploits by the re-establishment of *deposed kings*," (JBBRAS. Vol. VII, p. 20,), and "he who has restored to their thrones *deposed kings*," (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII, p. 263 a.). If राज were the reading, this translation would of course be correct, but with राज्य it is far-fetched. There is nothing here to show that the lost rājya or kingdom, re-established by Rudradāman, was any other person's than his own. So that, it looks natural to understand him to have re-established (his own) lost kingdom.

2 The reading is संवृत्यावद्युतया. It is allowable to insert त and take it as संवृत्यावद्युतया. But the sense of the word, which is "remoteness," will not suit the context; as he could not have "acquired a good name," i. e. been esteemed by people for not destroying the Lord of the Deccan on account of the remoteness of the connection. Remoteness or distance of the country would compel one to let his enemy alone, and there could be no virtue in it. The त therefore in the word must have crept in through mistake; wherefore, the true reading must be संवृत्यावद्युतया.

3 Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar.

defeated and pursued by the victorious Gotamiputra into his own dominions, when the latter subjugated Avanti, Anupa, Surashtra and Aparanta, and dethroned Jayadaman. For a time he and his successors held sway over the territories owned by Castana, but subsequently Rudradaman collected a band of followers, the same as those that are represented in the inscription as having chosen him their lord, and, driving away the Satahanas, regained his lost kingdom, and got himself crowned as Mahaksatrapa. But as appears from the Supara coin of Yajna-Sri,—which bears such striking resemblance to the Ksatrapa coins and is so unlike the Kolhapur coins of that monarch, large or small, and from the fact that his son Caturapana was his viceroy or representative,—that the Satahanas retained possession of a part at least of the Ksatrapa territories up to the time of Yajna-Sri. They even entered into blood relationship with the Ksatrapas, as we learn from the Kanheri Inscription, which speaks of the wife of Vasishthiputra Satakarni being the daughter of a Mahaksatrapa. But Rudradaman pursued his victories, and according to his Junagad Inscription, twice conquered Satakarni, the lord of Dakshinapatha, but did not destroy him, and acquired a good name by his forbearance towards one whose connection with him was not remote. Thus the lord of Dakshinapatha that he conquered was Yajna-Sri Satakarni. He could not have been his son Caturapana; for the expression "non-remoteness of the connection" suits the former better than the latter, as Caturapana's wife was the daughter of a Mahaksatrapa—perhaps his own—and the connection with him was positively close. The re-acquisition of his lost kingdom by Rudradaman, took place after the nineteenth year of Pulumayi's reign, that is, after about A. D. 149. It is in this way alone that the scraps of information derived from the Greek writers, and gathered from inscriptions, coins, and popular legends, as well as the dates, can be made to harmonize with each other.

But the date thus assigned to Gotamiputra is not consistent with that derived from the Matsya Purana. Our next endeavour, therefore, should be to ascertain whether none of the Puranas agrees sufficiently with the conclusion arrived at, and, if any does, to account for the great discrepancy between it and the Matsya and others. That there is very little agreement among them as

regards the Āndhrabṛtya dynasty, I have already indicated above. The genesis of our Purānic literature seems to be this. Certain versified accounts of certain things, purporting to be narrated by a bard to Rsis, assembled together at a sacrificial session, were handed down orally from generation to generation; and these were after some time committed to writing. The later Purāṇas, devoted to the exaltation of a particular deity and to the inculcation of certain doctrines, derived their accounts of these things from the earliest written Purāṇas and not from the oral tradition. Of the works of this class, which I am going to compare for our present purpose, the oldest appears to me to be the Vāyu, and next to it the Mātsya. The Viṣṇu is later, and the Bhāgavata, the latest. The text of the old Purāṇas gradually became corrupt, and the authors of the later ones were in some cases misled by their incorrect readings into putting forth statements at variance with the original account. Now the four Purāṇas just mentioned contain general statements about the several dynasties, giving the number of princes belonging to each and its duration in years, and they also mention the names of those princes more particularly ; while the Vāyu and the Mātsya give in addition the number of years for which each reigned. Often there is a discrepancy between the general and the particular statements.

The duration assigned by them all to the Maurya dynasty, founded by Candragupta, whose date as determined by his relations with the successors of Alexander the Great is justly characterised by Professor Max Müller as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, is 137 years. The number of reigning princes given by the Vāyu is nine, and by the rest, ten ; but the names actually enumerated in the Viṣṇu only are ten, while the Vāyu and the Bhāgavata give nine, and the Mātsya, only four. The total of the years assigned to each prince by the Vāyu is 133 years ; so that it is not unlikely that a short reign of four years may have dropped out from the text of that Purāṇa. Thus the general statement about ten princes and 137 years seems to be corroborated, and it appears pretty clear that the text of the Mātsya has in this case undergone a good deal of corruption. Thus, if with Dr. Kern, we take B. C. 322 as the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty, its overthrow and the foundation of the next or the Śunga family must have occurred in the

year B. C. 185. The Śungas are generally stated in all the Purāṇas to have been ten and to have reigned for 112 years, though the expression used in the Bhāgavata is not "112 years," but "more than a hundred years." In the actual enumeration, the Mātsya omits two, and the Bhāgavata, one; and the total of the years assigned to each prince in the Vāyu exceeds 112. There is evidently some mistake here; but if we take the general statement to be the correct tradition handed down, the dynasty became extinct in B. C. 73. The dynasty next mentioned is that of the Kāṇvas or Kāṇvāyanas. There were four princes of this line, and they reigned for forty-five years, though the Bhāgavata, through a mistake to be explained hereafter, makes the period to be 345 years. They were followed by the Āndhrabṛtyas. But here, there is a statement in the Vāyu and the Mātsya, the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties. The founder of the Āndhrabṛtyas, Sindhuka, according to the first Purāṇa, and Śiśuka, according to the other, is said to have uprooted not only the Kāṇvas, but "whatever was left of the power of the Śungas."¹ And the Kāṇvas are pointedly spoken of as Śungabṛtyas or "servants of the Śungas."² It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Śunga family became weak, the Kāṇvas usurped the whole power, and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters, but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns; and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas they were Brahmans and not Kṣatriyas. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śungas, include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas. The Śungas and the Kāṇvas, therefore, were uprooted, and the family of the Āndhrabṛtyas came to power in B. C. 73. In a general way, the number of princes belonging to this line is given as thirty in the Vāyu, the Viṣṇu, and the Bhāgavata, and twenty-nine in the Mātsya; and the total duration is stated to be 411 years in the first, 456 in the second and the third, and 460 in the fourth. The disagreement here is not great, wherefore the tradi-

¹ काण्वायनस्त(नं त)तो भृत्यः सुशर्मणिं प्रसद्य नम् । शृङ्गानां चेष्ट यच्छेष्टं क्षपयित्वा बलं तदा ॥
सिंधुको ह्यन्धजानीयः प्राप्त्यर्तीमा वसुधराद् ॥ Vāyu. "a servant of the race of the
Āndras, Sindhuka, having destroyed Suśarman of the Kāṇva family with
main force and whatever will have been left of the power of the Śungas, will
obtain possession of the earth." The statement in the Mātsya is similar.

² चत्वारः शुद्धभृत्यास्ते द्वयः काण्वायना द्विजः । Vāyu.

SECTION VI: CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANDHRABHRTYAS. 45

tion as to thirty princes and about 456 years may, be accepted as correct. But the discrepancy between this general statement and the more particular accounts that follow, as well as the disagreement between the several Purānas in this last respect, is very great. This will be apparent from the following table :—

Vāyu.		Mātsya.		Viṣṇu.		Bhāgavata.
Names.	Dura-tion of reign in years.	Names.	Dura-tion of reign in years.	Names.		Names.
Sindhuka ...	23	Sisūka ...	23	Sipraka ...		Name not gi-ven; but men-tioned as a Vṛṣala or Śūdra.
Kṛṣṇa ...	10	Kṛṣṇa ... Mallakarṇi ... Pūrṇotsaṅga ... Skandhastambhi.	18 10 or 18 18 18	Kṛṣṇa ... Śrī Sātakarṇi ... Pūrṇotsaṅga.		Kṛṣṇa ... Sāntakarṇa ... Paurṇamāsa.
Sātakarṇi ...	56	Sātakarṇi ... Lambodara ...	56 18	Sātakarṇi ... Lambodara ...		Lambodara.
Apīlava ...	12	Apitaka ... Meghasvāti ... Svāti ... Skandasvāti ... Mṛgendrasvāti-karṇa. Kuntalasvāti ... Svātikarpa ...	12 18 18 7 3 8 1	Ivilaka ... Meghasvāti ...		Hivilaka. Meghasvāti.
Paṭimāvi ...	24	Pulomāvi ...	36	Patumat ...		Aṭamāna.
Nemikṛṣṇa ...	25	Gaurakṛṣṇa or Naurikṛṣṇa.	25	Ariṣṭakarman.		Aniṣṭakarman Hāleya.
Hāla ...	1	Hāla ...	5	Hāla ...		
Saptaka or Maṇḍalaka.	5	Maṇḍulaka ...	5	Pattalaka ...		Talaka.
Purikaśepa.						
Sātakarṇi ...	21	Purindrasena ...	5	Pravillasena.		Puriṣabhirū.
Cakora Sātakarṇi.	1	Sundara ... Svāti-karṇa.	1	Sundara ...		Sunandana.
Cakora Sātakarṇi.	14	Cakora ... Svāti-karṇa.	1/3	Cakora ...		Cakora.
Sivasvāti ...	28	Sivasvāti ...	28	Sivasvāti ...		Sivasvāti.
Gautamīputra	21	Gautamīputra.	21	Gomatīputra.		Gomatīputra.
		Pulimat ...	28	Pulimat ...		Purimān(mat).
		Sīvaśrī ...	7	Sīvaśrī ...		Medāśiras.
		Sivaskanda ...	7	Sivaskandha ...		Sivaskanda.
Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi.	29	Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi.	29, 9 or 20	Yajñaśrī ...		Yajñaśrī.
Vijaya ...	6	Vijaya ...	6	Vijaya ...		Vijaya.
Danḍaśrī Sātakarṇi.	3	Caṇḍaśrī Sātakarṇi.	10	Candraśrī ...		Candravijaya.
Pulomavi ...	7	Pulomavīt ...	7	Pulomārcis ..		Sulomadhi.

Thus, the Vāyu has seventeen princes and 272 years and a half; and the Mātsya, thirty and 448 and a half. The Visnu gives twenty-four names, and the Bhāgavata, twenty-two. This last Purāṇa has in many cases corrupted the names and confounded Hāla with the Aristakarman of the Visnu, whom it names Anistakarman Hāleya. It also omits the fifth prince of the Visnu Purāṇa. The details given in the Mātsya come very close to the general tradition and thus confirm it. Should we then attribute the very great discrepancy between these details and those of the Vāyu to the corruption of the text of the latter? Two or three names might drop away in this manner, but the omission of thirteen names and the reduction of the total duration by 176 years must, I think, be accounted for in some other way. Besides the tradition about 456 years, there is a statement in the Vāyu Purāṇa, in a verse below, to the effect that the "Andhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years,"¹ which seems to point to another. That such a tradition existed is indicated by the mistake in the Bhāgavata by which the Kāṇvas are assigned three hundred and forty-five years. The original account, which the author of this Purāṇa must have seen, probably assigned forty-five years to the Kāṇvas, and three hundred to the next or Andhrabhrtya dynasty. But since that dynasty was also assigned another duration, viz. 456 years, he connected the "three hundred" with the preceding, and gave 345 years to the Kāṇvāyana family. Now, the manner in which the two traditions are to be reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Andhrabhrtya dynasty. That the younger princes often reigned at Paithan and the elderly ones at Dhanakataka appears clear when we compare the inscriptions with the statement in Ptolemy. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the Paithan princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanakataka. From an Inscription found at Banavāsi by Dr. Burgess, it would appear that another branch of that dynasty ruled over Kanara. The period of three hundred years and the seventeen names given in the Vāyu Purāṇa refer probably to the main

1 अन्धा मोक्षयन्ति वस्मां शते द्वे च शतं च वै । Vāyu.

branch. The Mātsya seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches, and thus makes them out to be thirty. The total of the years, assigned to the several reigns in the Vāyu, is $272\frac{1}{2}$, and if we should suppose one or two reigns lasting for about twenty-eight years to have dropped out by the corruption of the text, it would become $300\frac{1}{2}$. Thus then the Vāyu and the Mātsya Purānas each give a correct account, but of different things. The Viṣṇu, which gives twenty-four princes, is not entitled to so much credit as the Vāyu. It is a later work and the author's purpose being sectarian, he probably did not care so much for the accuracy of his details, and hence omitted even the duration of each reign. The Bhāgavata is still more careless, as has already been shown.

If then we take the account in the Vāyu Purāna to refer to the main branch of the dynasty, and consequently generally correct, the period that intervened between the rise of the Śātavāhanas or Āndhrabhrtyas, and the end of the reign of Śivasvāti, is 206 years.¹ The dynasty must, as we have seen, have been founded in B. C. 73, wherefore the end of Śivasvāti's reign and the accession of Gotamiputra must be placed in A. D. 133. We have seen that Pulumāyi, whose capital was Paithan according to Ptolemy, and who from the Inscriptions, appears to have been king of this part of the country and to have reigned contemporaneously with his father, must have begun to reign at Paithan about 130 A. D.. The father and the son drove the foreigners from the Deccan, and the son was established as the ruler of the regained provinces, Gotamiputra expecting to succeed to the throne at the original seat of the family. Gotamiputra reigned for twenty-one years according to the Purānas, wherefore he must have died in 154 A. D.. He was alive, as stated before, in the eighteenth year of Pulumāyi, i. e. in 148, and also in the nineteenth, when the cave temple was dedicated, and not alive in the twenty-fourth, i. e. in 154, according to the two Inscriptions mentioned before. Ptolemy's mention of Pulumāyi, I have already referred to about the year 132; so that, the date deduced from this source, and those derived from Gotamiputra's and Pulumāyi's Inscriptions at Nasik, and Rudradā-

1 By adding up the numbers in the table.

man's at Junagad (on the supposition that the era used in this last is the Śaka), as well as those derived from the Purāṇas, may thus be shown to be consistent with each other. The dates of all the princes whose names we find in the Inscriptions may therefore be thus arranged :

Simuka began to reign in B. C. 73 and ceased in B. C. 50.

Kṛṣṇa began in B. C. 50 and ceased in B. C. 40.

Śātakarṇi (third in the Vāyu P.) began in B. C. 40 and ceased in A.D. 16.

Nahapāna Kṣaharāta.

Gotamiputra began in A. D. 133 and ceased in A. D. 154.

If the twenty-eight years assigned to Pulumāyi in the Mātsya Purāṇa are to be reckoned from the year of Gotamiputra's death, he must be considered to have begun to reign at Dhanakāṭaka in A.D. 154, and to have ceased in A.D. 182. He reigned at Paithan from A.D. 130 to A.D. 154, that is, for about twenty-four years, and we have seen that the latest year of his reign recorded in the Inscriptions at Nasik and Karli is the twenty-fourth. Altogether then his reign lasted for fifty-two years. But if the twenty-eight include twenty-four for which he ruled at Paithan, he must have died in 158. This supposition looks very probable. He was succeeded by Śiva-Śrī, whose coin found in the Tailangāna districts has been described by Mr. Thomas in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 64. He appears to have been Pulumāyi's brother, since he also is styled on the coin Vāsiṣṭhiputa, i. e. Vāsiṣṭhiputra, or the son of Vāsiṣṭhi. He had a reign of seven years and must have died in A.D. 165. Śivaskanda was the next king, to whom also seven years have been assigned. There is no trace of these two princes on this side of the country; while the name of the next, Yajña Śrī, occurs frequently as we have seen in Inscriptions and coins. He appears to have been Pulumāyi's immediate successor at Paithan. His full name was Gotamiputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarni, and he is, as observed before, the Gotamiputra of the Kolhapur coins. Some copies of the Mātsya assign him twenty-nine years, others nine, and twenty, and the Vāyu, twenty-nine; while the Brahmānda allows him nineteen. Probably he reigned in Mahārāstra for eighteen or nineteen years, since the sixteenth year of his reign is his latest recorded date, and for twenty-nine years at Dhanakāṭaka, since, according to our supposition, the Vāyu Purāṇa gives an account of the Dhanakāṭaka branch and

his coins are found in Tailangana. And this is confirmed by what we have already said. Pulumāyi reigned at Dhanakatāka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, i. e. for eighteen years, Yajña-Śrī was ruler of Mahārastra. He must thus have ceased to reign in the last country in about A. D. 172 and died in about A. D. 202.

The next three reigns lasted, according to the Vāyu, for sixteen years. No trace of any of these has yet been found on this side of the country ; but coins of Candra-Śrī are found near the original seat of government, and two of these are described by Mr. Thomas in the paper mentioned above. Thus the latest Āndhrabṛtya date is A. D. 218. Madhariputa Sakasena of the Kanheri Inscription, the same as the Madhariputa of the Kolhapur coins, has been identified with Śiva-Śrī, the successor of Pulumāyi, by Pandit Bhagvanlal, and I also at one time concurred with him. But the identification is not, I think, tenable. He was probably led to it by his reading Śirisena for Sakasena ; but I have shown that the reading is incorrect. Mr. Thomas has described a specimen of eleven coins found at Amarāvatī near Dharanikot, the legend on which he reads as Sakasakasa, but it is not unlikely Sakasenasa, "of Sakasena." Besides, Mādhariputra Sakasena could not have been the immediate successor of Pulumāyi for a reason which I have already given. One of the Kolhapur coins, figured by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, bears the names of both Gotamiputa and Madhariputa, showing that the piece originally bearing the name of one of them was re-stamped with the name of the other. Mr. Thomas thinks that it was originally Madhariputa's coin. I think it was Gotamiputa's ; for, if we see the other figured coins, we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized and the name of Madhariputa stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Madhariputa Sakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamiputra Yajña-Śrī Śātakarṇi. But, as we have seen, none of his three Purānic successors bore the name, and the name Sakasena is one which has nothing like it on the long list of the Āndhrabṛtyas. Still that king must have reigned at Dhanakatāka also, if my surmise that Mr. Thomas' Sakasaka is the same as Sakasena is correct.

In the same manner, as observed before, Catusparna Śatakarni's name does not appear in the Purāṇas. But the Purāṇas cannot be expected to give accurate information on these points. In the Mātsya Purāṇa another Āndhra dynasty of "seven princes sprung from the servants of the original Āndhrabhrtya family will," it is said, "come into power after that family becomes extinct."¹ The Vāyu has got a similar verse the reading of which, however, is corrupt; but it appears that this new dynasty is there meant to be spoken of as having sprung from the Āndhrabhrtya family itself and must have constituted a separate branch cut off from the main line. And we can very well understand from the points already made out, how such a branch could have constituted itself after Yajña-Śrī's ceasing to reign. Vāsisthiputra Śatakarni whom I have identified with Caturapana married a Kṣatrapa lady. The Kṣatrapas, as I have before observed, were foreigners, most probably Śakas who had become Hindus. Maṭhariputra was not unlikely the son of that lady. And thus he and his father Caturapana formed, from the very fact of this marriage, a distinct line of princes. Caturapana appears to have succeeded Yajña-Śrī; and Maṭhariputra to have reigned after Caturapana. The durations of these reigns cannot be made out, but the latest date of the former is the thirteenth year of his reign, which probably corresponds to 185 A. D., and of the latter the eighth. The dates of the later Śātavahanas are, therefore, these :

In Mahārāṣṭra.

Pulumāyi	...	...	...	A.D. 130—A.D. 154.
Yajña-Śrī	...	...	...	A.D. 154—A.D. 172.
Catusparna or Caturapana			...	A.D. 172—was reigning in A.D. 185.
Maṭhariputra	...	About	A.D. 190	—was reigning in about A.D. 197.

In Tailangana.

Pulumāyi	...	...	...	A.D. 154—A.D. 158.
Siva-Śrī	...	...	...	A.D. 158—A.D. 165.
Sivaskanda	...	...	...	A.D. 165—A.D. 172.
Yajña-Śrī	...	...	...	A.D. 172—A.D. 202.
Vijaya	...	...	...	A.D. 202—A.D. 208.
Candra-Śrī	...	...	...	A.D. 208—A.D. 211.
Pulomavi	...	...	...	A.D. 211—A.D. 218.

1 अन्ध्राणि संस्थिता (ने?) राज्ये नेषां भृत्यान्वये इवाः । सौम्यान्मा भविष्यन्ति.

SECTION VI : CHRONOLOGY OF THE ĀNDHRABHṚTYAS. 51

Thus then, the Āndhrabhbṛtyas or Śātavāhanas ruled over the Deccan from B. C. 73 to about A. D. 218, i. e., for about three centuries. For some time, however, they were dispossessed of the country by foreigners who belonged to the Śaka tribe. How long these were in power, it is difficult to determine. If the Śaka era was established by the foreign conqueror after his subjugation of the country, and if his Satrapa Nahapāna or his successor was overthrown by Gotamiputra or Pulumāyi, six or seven years after Nahapāna's latest date, viz. 46, the foreigners held possession of this country only for about fifty-three years.

SECTION VII.

POLITICAL AND LITERARY TRADITIONS ABOUT THE ŚĀTA- VĀHANAS OR ŚĀLIVĀHANAS.

THE period during which the Śātavāhanas or Āndhrabṛtyas ruled over Mahārāṣṭra must have been a prosperous one in the history of the country. Hence several traditions with regard to different kings of this dynasty have been preserved. But that Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana was a family name has been forgotten, and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified. Thus Hemacandra in his Deśikōṣa gives Śālivāhana, Śālana, Hāla, and Kuntala as the names of one individual; but we see from the list given above that the last two names were borne by different princes, and both of them were Śālivāhanas. In his grammar, he gives Śālivāhana as a Prakrit corruption of Śātavāhana.

In modern times, the Śaka era is called the Śālivāhana era or an era founded by Śālivāhana. When it began to be attributed to him it is difficult to determine precisely. All the copper-plate grants up to the eleventh century, speak of the era as Śaka-nṛpakāla, i. e., the era of the Śaka king or as Śakakāla, i. e., the era of the Śaka, and in an Inscription at Badami it is stated to be the era beginning from "the coronation of the Śaka king." Subsequently, the simple expression "Śāke, in the year of the Śaka," was used, and thereafter Śāke or "in the Śaka". The word Śaka thus came to be understood as equivalent to "an era" generally, the original sense being forgotten. And since the era had to be connected with some great king, it was associated with the name of Śālivāhana, whom tradition had represented to be such a king ; and thus we now use the expression Śālivāhana Śaka, which, etymologically, can have no sense and is made up of the names of two royal families.

The current legend makes Śālivāhana the son of a Brahman girl who was a sojourner at Paithan and lived with her two brothers in the house of a potter. On one occasion

she went to the Godāvari to bathe, when Śesa, the king of serpents, becoming enamoured of her, transformed himself into a man and embraced her. In due course she gave birth to Śalivāhana, who was brought up in the house of the potter.¹ Some time after, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, to whom a certain deity had revealed that he was destined to die at the hands of the son of a girl of two years, sent about his Vetalā or King of Ghosts to find out if there was such a child anywhere. The Vetalā saw Śalivāhana playing with his girlish mother and informed Vikramāditya. Thereupon he invaded Paithan with a large army, but Śalivāhana infused life into clay figures of horses, elephants, and men, by means of a charm communicated to him by his father, the king of serpents, encountered Vikramāditya, and defeated him. This descent of a king of Ujjayinī on Paithan I have already alluded to and endeavoured to explain. The Śalivāhana referred to in this tradition appears to be Pulumāyi who in conjunction with his father freed the country from the Śakas and fought with Castāna or Jayadāman and Rudradāman, whose capital appears to have been Ujjayinī. It was in consequence of some faint reminiscence of Pulumāyi-Śalivāhana's relations with the Śakas and their Satrapa kings that his name was attached to the era first used by his adversaries.

There are also several literary traditions connected with the name of Śātavāhana or Śalivāhana. A work of the name of Brhatkathā, written in that form of the Prakrit which is called the Pāisāci or the language of goblins, is mentioned by Dandin in his work, the Kavyādarśa.² Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, and Ksemendra, the author of the Brhatkathā, profess to have derived their stories from this Pāisāci Brhatkathā. The stories comprised in this are said to have been communicated to Gunādhya, who for some time had been minister to Śātavāhana, by a ghost of the name of Kāṇabhūti. They were written in blood and arranged in seven books. Gunādhya offered them to king Śātavāhana, but he refused to receive such a ghastly work written

¹ The story about the girl and her serpent-lover is, in the Kathāsaritsāgara, mentioned with reference to Gunādhya who was the son of the girl. Śātavāhana's origin is given differently.

² भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्गुतार्थीं द्वृहत्कथाम्।

in blood and in the language of goblins, whereupon Gunādhya burnt six of them. Some time after, king Śātavāhana having been informed of the charming nature of those stories went to Gunādhya and asked for them. But the last or seventh book alone remained, and this the king obtained from his pupils with his permission.¹

It is narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara that while Śātavāhana was, on one occasion, bathing with his wives in a tank in a pleasure-garden, he threw water at one of them. As she was tired, she told the king not to besprinkle her with water, using the words: Modakaiḥ paritādaya mām. The king not understanding that the first word was composed of two, Mā "do not" and Udaikaiḥ "with waters," but taking it to be one word, meaning "pieces of sweetmeat," caused sweetmeat to be brought, and began to throw pieces at the queen. Thereupon she laughed and told the king that he did not know the phonetic rules of Sanskrit, and that while she meant to tell him not to besprinkle her with water, he had understood her to say that she wanted him to throw pieces of sweetmeat at her. There was no occasion for sweetmeat at the place, and this ought to have led the king to the true sense; but he was not. Thereupon the king was ashamed of his own ignorance while his queen was so learned, and became disconsolate. Gunādhya and Śarvavarman, who were his ministers, were informed of the cause; and the former promised to teach him grammar in six years, though it was a study of twelve. Śarvavarman, however, offered to teach the subject in six months, and his offer was accepted; but as it was not possible to do so, Śarvavarman propitiated the God Kārtikeya or Skanda by his self-mortifications, and the god communicated to him the first Sūtra of a new grammar, Siddho Varnasamāmnāyah. Thereupon Śarvavarman repeated the other Sūtras, when Kārtikeya said that if he had not been so hasty, and had allowed him to repeat the whole, the new grammar would have become superior to Pānini's; but since it could not be so now, it would be a small treatise—Kātantra, and would also be called Kālapaka after the tail of his peacock. This new grammar Śarvavarman taught to the king.²

1 Kathāsaritsāgara, II. 8.

2 Kathāsaritsāgara VI. 108 & ff.

The same story is told by Tārānātha in his "History of Buddhism"; but he makes the name of the king to be Udayana, and of Śarvavarman, Saptavarman; while the competitor of Śarvavarman is represented by him to be Vararuci instead of Guṇādhya. But Udayana is represented as a king reigning in Sourthern India, and Śātavāhana in the form of Śāntivāhana is also mentioned in connection with the story as a southern king in whose dominions Vararuci lived. As Udayana frequently figures in Buddhistic stories, the southern prince Śātavāhana is confounded with him, and this seems to be indicated by the fact that this Udayana is represented to have ruled over a country in the South, though the usual Udayana is a Northern prince.

It will thus appear that the Kātantra grammar was composed by Śarvavarman at the request of a prince of the Śātavāhana family. And the same thing appears to be alluded to even by Hwan Thsang, when he says in connection with the shortening of the originally large work on grammar by Pāṇini and others: "Lately a Brahman of South India, at the request of a king of South India, reduced them further to 2,500 ślokas. This work is widely spread, and used throughout all the frontier provinces, but the well-read scholars of India do not follow it as their guide in practice."²

There is a work written in the old Mahārāṣṭri dialect called Saptasati, which is of the nature of an anthology, consisting of Gāthās or stanzas in the Āryā metre, mostly on love matters. The author of this is, in the third verse, mentioned as Hāla, and ordinarily he is spoken of as Śālivāhana. Bāna speaks of it in a verse in the introduction to his Harṣa-carita as "an imperishable and refined repository of good sayings composed by Śālivāhana." Verses from it are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the Daśarūpaka, in the Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhabharana, and in the Kāvyaprakāśa. There is, it will be observed, in the list of the Āndhrabhrtya princes, one of the name of Hāla, who probably was either the author of the work, or to whom it was dedicated by a court-poet.

¹ Schiefner's Translation, p. 73 & ff.

² Life of Hwan Thsang, Beal's Trans., p. 122.

From these traditions we may, I think, safely conclude that literature flourished under the rule of the Andhrabṛtyas, and that the Prakrits or spoken languages, especially the Mahārāṣṭri, were probably for the first time, used for literary purposes. In Vātsyā-yana's Kāmasūtra or Institutes of Love, Kuntala Śātakarni Śātvāhana is spoken of as having killed Malayavati, (who is called Mahādevī, and consequently must have been his chief queen,) by means of a pair of scissors in connection with certain amorous sports.¹ The name Kuntala occurs in the list given in the Mātsya Purāna.

1 कर्त्या कृन्तः शातकर्णिः शातवाहनो महादेवीं मलयवतीं [जघान]. Prof. Aufrecht's quotation in the Oxf. Cat., p. 217 b., does not contain the name मलयवतीं, and he supplies गणिका from the preceding clause; but a Gaṇikā or courtezan cannot be called Mahādevī.

SECTION VIII.

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MAHĀRĀSTRA UNDER THE ĀNDHRABHRTYAS OR ŚĀTAVĀHANAS.

DURING this period the religion of Buddha was in a flourishing condition. Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahābhajas and Mahāratthas, merchants (Naigamas), goldsmiths (Suvarṇakāras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn-dealers (Dhānyakaśrenis), druggists (Gāndhikas), and ordinary householders (Grasthas), caused at their expense temples and monasteries to be excavated out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of that religion. It has been mentioned above that in the first part of this period, the country was exposed to the inroads of foreign tribes, such as Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, Śakas, and Pahlavas. These afterwards settled in the country and adopted the Buddhist religion. For, among the donors and benefactors whose names are recorded in the Cave Inscriptions, there are a good many Śakas and Yavanas. But some, and especially the Śakas, seem to have adopted Brahmanism. The Buddhist temples were provided with Caityas or tombs in imitation of those in which some relic of Buddha was buried, and these were objects of worship. The monasteries contained cells intended as residences for Bhiksus or mendicant priests. These travelled over the country during the year and spent the four rainy months at one of these monastic establishments. In the month of Śrāvana, the monks held the ceremony of robing, at which the old clothes were thrown away and new ones worn. To provide these for them, charitable persons deposited, as we have seen, sums of money with certain guilds with directions that out of the interest new robes should be purchased and given to the priests. Villages were assigned by kings and their officers for the support of these religious establishments. The mendicant priests often travelled by sea; and hence at the head of several of the creeks in Konkan we have cave monasteries intended as Dharma-sālās or rest-houses for them. We have such caves at Chiplun, Mahad and Kude, situated respectively on the Dabhol, the Bankot, and the Rajapuri creeks. For those who

landed at the head of the Bombay harbour or at Ghod-Bandar, there were the Kanheri caves.

Brahmanism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. In the Inscription at Nasik, in which Usavadāta dedicates the cave monastery excavated at his expense, for the use of the itinerant "priests of the four quarters," he speaks, as we have seen, of his many charities to Brahmans. The same notions as regards these matters prevailed then as now. Usavadāta fed a hundred thousand Brahmans, as the Maharaj Sindia did about thirty years ago. It was considered highly meritorious to get Brahmans married at one's expense then as now. Gotamiputra also, in the same Inscription which records a benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brahmans, and as having, like Usavadāta, put them in the way of increasing their race. Kings and princes thus appear to have patronized the followers of both the religions, and in none of the Inscriptions is there an indication of an open hostility between them.

Trade and commerce must also have been in a flourishing condition during this early period. Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the Periplus, to Barugaza or Bharukaccha, the modern Bharoch; and the merchandise brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries. Onyx stone in large quantities from Paithan, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried in waggons to Barugaza and thence exported to the west.

Paithan is placed by the author of the Periplus at the distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and is spoken of as the greatest city in Dakhinabades or Dakṣināpatha, and Tagara, ten days' east of Paithan.¹ This town has not yet been identified. Its name does not occur in any of the Cave Inscriptions; but it is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of the first half of the seventh century, and princes of a dynasty known by the name of Silāhāra, call themselves "sovereigns of Tagara, the best of towns," in all their grants. Some have identified it with Devagiri and others with Junnar;

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, pp. 143, 144.

but in both cases its bearing from Paithan as given by the Greek geographers has not been taken into account. I have elsewhere discussed the question, and have proposed Dharur in the Nizam's territory as the site of the ancient city.

The other sea-port towns mentioned in the Periplus are : (2) Souppara, the modern Supare or Supara near Bassein and the Sorparaka of the Inscriptions and the Purāṇas, where interesting Buddhistic relics were dug out by Mr. Campbell and Pandit Bhagvanlal ; (3) Kalliena, the modern Kalyan, which must have been a place of great commercial importance, since a good many of the donors whose names are inscribed in the caves at Kanheri and some mentioned in the caves at Junnar were merchants residing in Kalyan ;¹ (4) Semulla, identified with Chembur by some and with Chaul by others ; (5) Mandagora, very likely the same as the modern Mandad, originally Mandagada, situated on the Rajapuri creek near Kude, where we have the caves ; (6) Palaipatnai, which probably was the same as Pal which is near Mahad ; (7) Melizeigara, the second part of the name of which can at once be recognized as Jayagad and which must be identified with that place, whatever the first part Meli may mean ; (8) Buzantion, and others.

Buzantion is probably the Vaijayanti² of the Inscriptions, but with what modern town it is to be identified, it is difficult to say. Vaijayanti is mentioned in the Kadamba copper-plates, translated by Mr. Telang,³ and was most probably some place in North Kanara. In a grant of the Vijayanagara dynasty, Mādhava, the great counsellor of king Harihara, is represented to have been appointed viceroy of Jayantipura. He then conquered Goa and seems to have made that his capital.⁴ Jayantipura is said to be another name for Banavasi. In the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata, Banavasi is spoken of, as if it were the name of a country, and

¹ See the Inscriptions in JBBRAS, Vol. VI, and in Arch. Surv., W. India. No. 10.

² Karli No. 1, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

³ JBBRAS, Vol. XII, pp. 318 and 321.

⁴ JBBRAS, Vol. IV, p. 115.

immediately after it, Jayanti is mentioned as a town.¹ If then Jayanti and Vaijayanti were two forms of the same name, Vaijayanti was probably the modern Banavasi, or perhaps, in consideration of the facts that the name of Vaijayanti occurs in an Inscription at Karli, and also that the Greek geographers in mentioning the places of note on the coast could not have run at once from Jayagad to the southern limit of North Kanara, Vaijayanti may be identified with Vijayadurga. But these objections are not of very great weight.

It is not possible to ascertain the names of all the towns in the inland country that were in a flourishing condition during the time we have been speaking of. Besides Paithan and Tagara there was Nasik, which is mentioned in an Inscription in one of the caves at the place and also at Bedsa. The district about the town was called Govardhana.

Junnar was another flourishing town, as is attested by the number of cave-temples at the place. But what its name was, we do not know. The name Junnar, Junanara, Jūrṇanagara, or Jīrṇanagara, which means the old town, must have been given to it after it had lost its importance. I have already expressed my belief that it was the capital of Nahapāna. Puṇumāyi, who overthrew the dynasty of Nahapāna, is, in one of the Nasik Inscriptions styled "lord of Navanara," meant probably for Navanagara or the New Town. That he reigned at Paithan we know from Ptolemy, and also from the many traditions about Śālivāhana, which locate the person or persons bearing that name at that city. The Navanara, then, of the Inscription was probably another name given to the town when Puṇumāyi re-established his dynasty, and, in contrast with it, Nahapāna's capital was called the "Old Town." Or perhaps Puṇumāyi widened the old town of Paithan and called the new extension Navanara.

What town existed near the group of caves at Karli and the adjoining places, we do not know. But the place spoken of in connection with the monastic establishment is in an Inscription

¹ Chap. XXXI, vv. 69 and 70, Bom. Ed. The Vanavāsināḥ at the end of v. 69 refers to the town or country of Banavāsi, and ought properly to appear as Vanavāsikān. In the Purāṇas, too, Vanavāsikāḥ is given as the name of a people.

named Valuraka,¹ and the district in which it was situated is called Māmalāhāra,² or the district of Māmala, the modern Maval.

Further south there was the town of Karahātaka, the modern Karhad, which is mentioned in an Inscription at Kude³ and also in the Mahābhārata.⁴ Kolhapur also must have been a flourishing town in those days, since a Buddhistic Stūpa containing the coins we have already noticed and other remains of antiquity have been found there. The old name of the place is unknown. Either Karhad or Kolhapur must be the Hippocura of Ptolemy in which he locates Baleocuros, whom we have identified with the Vilivāyakura of the Kolhapur coins.

Persons engaged in trade and commerce probably acquired large fortunes. The great Chaitya-cave at Karli was caused to be constructed by a Seth (Śresthin) of Vaijayanti, and in other places also, especially at Kanheri, their gifts were costly.

There were in those days guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers &c. Their organisation seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation.

Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A Nigamasabhā or town-corporation is also mentioned in one of Usavadāta's Nasik Inscriptions, which shows that something like municipal institutions existed in those early days.

It is also worthy of remark that the yearly interest on the 2000 Kārsāpanas, deposited by Usavadāta, was 100 Kārsāpanas, and in another case, that on 1000 was 75, showing that the rate of interest was not so high as it has been in recent times, but varied from five to seven and a half per cent. per annum. If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to

¹ No. 14, Karli. Arch. Surv. West. Ind. No. 10.

² Ibid. No. 19.

³ No. 20, Kuda Caves. Arch. Surv. West. Ind. No. 10.

⁴ In the place above referred to.

the efficiency of government, it appears that the country was well governed, notwithstanding political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organization spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure.

Communication between the several provinces does not appear to have been very difficult. Benefactions of persons residing in Vaijayanti or Banavāsi, and Śorparaka or Supara, are recorded in the cave at Karli ; of a Nasik merchant at Bedsa ; of some inhabitants of Bharukaccha and Kalyan at Junnar ; of natives of Northern India and Dattāmitrī, which, I have elsewhere shown, was situated in Lower Sindh, at Nasik ; and of an iron-monger of Karahātaka or Karhad at Kude. On the other hand, gifts of natives of Nasik and Karhad are recorded on the Stūpa at Bharhut, which lies midway between Jabbalpore and Allahabad.¹ Unless there were frequent communications between these places, it is not possible that the natives of one should make religious endowments at another.

¹ Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 131, 135, 136, 138, 139.

SECTION IX.

PROBABLE HISTORY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE EXTINCTION OF THE ĀNDHRABHṚTYAS AND THE RISE OF THE CALUKYAS.

FOR about three centuries after the extinction of the Andhrabṛtyas, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country. The Mātsya and the Vāyu, as observed before, place seven princes of a branch of the Andhrabṛtyas after them, and I have given reasons to believe that the Madhariputra of the Inscription and the coins referred to before was one of them. This branch seems to have been in possession of the whole extent of the country that was ruled over by their predecessors. If the fact, noticed before, of some coins of the later Kṣatrapa kings being found in a village near Karhad is to be regarded as evidence of their sway over this country and not to be attributed merely to commercial intercourse, the Kṣatrapa dynasty also must be considered to have obtained possession of a portion at least of the Deccan after the Śātavāhanas. The earliest of these princes is Vijaya Sāha¹ (or Sena) whose date is 144² which, if the era is that of the Śaka kings, corresponds to A. D. 222, while the latest date we have assigned to the Śātavāhanas is about A. D. 218. The last of the princes whose coins are found near Karhad is Viśva Sāha (Sena), one of whose coins has the date 214 and another 224, corresponding to A. D. 292 and A. D. 302.³

About this time princes of the race of Ābhīras or cowherds must have come into power. Ten of them are mentioned in the Purāṇas. In the Nasik caves there is an Inscription dated in the ninth year of Virasena Ābhīra, the son of Damari and of Sivadatta Ābhīra.⁴ The characters in the Inscription, though they do not differ much from those in the Inscriptions of the latter Andhrabṛtya kings, must be regarded as more modern. The language is Sanskrit,

1 JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 17.

2 Ibid. p. 28 (No. 10).

3 Ibid. No. 15.

4 Ibid. No. 15, and Trans. Inter. Con., 1874, p. 341

which I regard as an indication of a later era. When the popular dialect became different from the Pali, or the Pali became less sacred, the people fell back upon the original Sanskrit for such purposes as those of recording religious gifts ; and thus in all the later grants we find the Sanskrit used, while, from the times of Ásoka to the extinction of the Ándhrabhrityas, the language used was mostly the Pali, or, to speak more accurately, one or more of the Prakrits of the period.

The Ábhiras were in power for sixty-seven years according to the Váyu Purána. Many other dynasties are mentioned in the Puránas as having ruled over the country. But the information given there is much more confused than in the case of the previous families. It appears that the dynasties that ruled over different parts of India at the same time are put together and confused with those that succeeded each other, so that it is not possible without extraneous assistance to determine their chronological relations.

We have seen from the Cave Inscriptions that from remote times tribes of Kṣatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Raṭhis or Rāstrikas were predominant in the country. In the northern part of the Deccan or Mahārāstra these called themselves "the Great Raṭhis or Mahāraṭhis, the ancient Marāthas," but in other places the name in use must have been Raṭhis or Raṭhas, since we know of more modern chiefs in the Southern Maratha Country who called themselves by that name. Some of the Raṭha tribes must have formed themselves into a family or group (kūta) and called themselves Raṭhakūta, and later on Rāthoda, the Sanskrit original of which is Rāṣtrakūta. Or the Rāṣtrakūta family was so called because it was the main branch of the race of the Raṭhas that had spread over the whole country. These native chiefs that ruled over the country must have been held in subjection by the Ándhrabhrityas during the continuance of their power, and also by the later Kṣatrapas. But after the dynasties became extinct they must have resumed their independence. The Ábhiras held sway for some time and over a part of the country only; for the tradition of Gauḍi or cowherd rulers, which very probably refers to them, is confined to the Nasik and Khandesh districts.

The Rāstrakūtas probably rose to power about the same time as the Ābhīras. Hence in the Inscriptions on the Miraj plates and the Yevur tablet, first brought to light by Mr. Wathen and Sir Walter Elliot¹ respectively, it is stated that Jayasimha, the founder of the Cālukya dynasty in the Deccan, established himself in the country after having vanquished Indra, the son of Kṛṣṇa of the Rāstrakūta family. The Cālukya dynasty was, as will hereafter be seen, founded in the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. From about the end of the third to the beginning of the sixth century, therefore, the Deccan was ruled over by princes of the Rāstrakūta family.

An Inscription on copper-plates, found in the Caitya of one of the caves at Kanheri, is dated in the 245th year of a dynasty, which, if the word has been correctly lithographed, is called Strakūtaka.² But the published copy of the Inscription was made in the time of Dr. Bird, and the plates themselves are not now available for re-examination. The Strakūtaka may be a mislection for Rāstrakūta. But it is not unlikely Traikūtaka, as the late Pandit Bhagvanlal contended. He has published a copper-plate charter issued from the camp of the victorious army of Traikūtakas by a prince of the name of Darhasena³ in the year 207. Traikūtaka was thus probably the name of a race and the prince belonged to it. And the Kanheri Inscription would show that this dynasty had an era of its own. From the form of the characters in the Inscription, it appears that it was engraved in the latter part of the fifth century of the Christian era; so that the Traikūtaka dynasty was founded about the middle of the third century, i. e. after the extinction of the Sātavāhanas. But further information about the dynasty is not available; and we do not know over what extent of country it ruled. But since the epoch of the era appears to be the same as that of the era used by the kings of Cedi, possibly the race of the Haihayas or Kalacuris which ruled over that province rose to power about 249 A. D. and held sway over a part of the Deccan including the western coast up to the country of Lāṭa. They were afterwards driven away by some other race and had to confine themselves to Cedi. The resemblance between the names Tripura, the capital of the dynasty, and Trikūta is perhaps not fortuitous.

¹ JRAS., Vols II, III, IV; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 12.

² JBBRAS., Vol. V, p. 16, of the copies of the Kanheri Inscription.

³ JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 346.

SECTION X.

THE EARLY CALUKYAS.

We will next proceed to an account of the princes who belonged to the dynasty called Calikya, Calukya, or Cālukya.¹ A large number of Inscriptions on copper-plates and stone-tablets have amply elucidated the history of this dynasty. The legendary origin of this family is thus given by Bilhana, the author of the Vikramāṅkadevacarita, or life of Vikramāditya a prince of the later or restored Cālukya line. On one occasion when Brahma-deva was engaged in his morning devotions, Indra came up to him and complained of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrificial rites or gave oblations to the gods. Brahma-deva looked at his 'culuka', or the hand hollowed for the

1 Dr. Fleet draws a distinction between Calukya and Cālukya and asserts that "this last form belongs only to the restored dynasty commencing with Taila II" and that "it does not occur in any of the genuine early Inscriptions." But it does belong to the earlier dynasty also, and is found in genuine early Inscriptions. The best way to determine the point whether the first syllable was च or चा is to refer to verses containing the name, the metre of which will show the quantity unmistakably. The Inscriptions of the earlier dynasty are in prose; we must therefore refer to the versified grants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas which speak of the dynasty supplanted by them. In the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III (Ind. ant., Vol. VI, p. 65), we have चालुक्यकुलाद्वृत् &c., in verso 3. In the Navasari grant edited by me (JBBRAS., Vol. XVIII, p. 257) we have चालुक्यवंशजलयः स्थयमेष लक्ष्मीः &c. In three of the five grants of the eastern branch of the early dynasty edited by Dr. Hultzsch we have चालुक्यानां कुलम् (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. pp. 44, 47 & 57). The form चलुक्य is also frequently used. The distinction between च and चा and the difference in sense in consequence of the lengthening of the vowel which Dr. Fleet points out have place in the pure Sanskrit of Pāṇini and of the Brāhmaṇas; but there is no room for them in names that came into use in the Prakrit period long after Sanskrit became a dead language. Calukya was some vernacular name which was Sanskritized into the various forms we actually find.

reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior who became the progenitor of the Cālukya race. Some time after, two great heroes of the name of Hārita and Mānavya were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction. The original seat of the dynasty was Ayodhyā, and in the course of time a branch of it established itself in the South.

As stated in the opening lines of all the copper-plate grants of this family, the Cālukyas belonged to the Gotra or race of Mānavya and were the descendants of Hāriti. They were under the guardianship of the Seven Mothers and were led to prosperity by the god Kārtikeya. They obtained from Nārāyana a standard with a boar represented on it, and fighting under that standard they subjugated all kings. The Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates, referred to above, agree with Bilhana in representing Ayodhyā as the original seat of the family. But since these were almost contemporaneous with the poet, all the three represent only the tradition that was current in the eleventh century.

The first prince who raised the family to distinction in the South was Jayasiinha. He fought several battles with the reigning princes, and, among them, with those belonging to the Rāstrakūṭa family, if the Yevur tablet is to be trusted, and acquired the sovereignty of the country. After him reigned Ranarāga, who was a prince of great valour and had a stately and gigantic person.

He was succeeded by his son Pulakeśi, who performed a great Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice and attended equally to the concerns of this world and the next. He made Vatāpipura, which has been identified with Badami in the Kaladgi district, his capital. He appears to have been the first great prince of the family ; for, in all the subsequent grants the genealogy begins with him. His full title was Satyāśraya Śri Pulakeśi Vallabha Mahārāja. Of these words, Vallabha appears to be the title of all princes of this dynasty. In some cases, Vallabha had Pr̥thvi prefixed to it, so that the expression meant "the Lover or Husband of the Earth." Satyāśraya or "the Support of Truth" was inherited by some of the later princes.

Pulakesi's son Kirtivarman succeeded to the throne after him. He subjugated a family of princes of the name of Nalas; but over what province it ruled we do not know. He also subdued the Mauryas, who, from a statement in an Inscription at Aihole¹ upon which this account is principally based, seem to have been chiefs of northern Konkan, and reduced also the Kadambas of Banavasi in North Kanara.

Kirtivarman had three sons at least, who were all young when he died. His brother Mangalisa therefore came to the throne after him. Mangalisa vanquished the Kalacuris, a family of princes ruling over the country of Cedi, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur near Jabbalpore. Buddha, son of Samkaragana, whom he is represented in one grant² to have conquered and put to flight, must have been a Kalacuri prince, as the name Samkaragana frequently occurs in the genealogy of the dynasty.

Mangalisa is said to have carried his arms to both the eastern and western seas. On the coast of the latter he conquered what is called Revatidvipa, or the Island of Revati. A copperplate grant by a governor of this island was found near Goa³, from which it would appear that Revati was very probably the old name of Redi⁴ situated a few miles to the south of Vengurla. In an Inscription in a cave-temple at Badami, it is stated that the temple⁵ was caused to be excavated by Mangalisa. He there placed an idol of Visnu, and on the occasion of its consecration granted a village, out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Narayanabali was to be performed and sixteen Brahmans to be fed every day, and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses. This Inscription is dated in the twelfth year of some reign when 500 years of the Saka era had elapsed. The reign in the twelfth year of which the cave-temple was consecrated, is taken to be the reign of Mangalisa. On this supposition Mangalisa began to reign in 489 Saka; but I

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 241.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 161. See also Vol. XIX, p. 17.

³ JBBRAS., Vol. X, pp. 365-6.

⁴ Revati should, according to the usual rules, be corrupted to Revadi or Re-a-di and then to Redi.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. III, p. 305.

have elsewhere¹ brought forward what I consider to be very strong arguments to show that Maṅgalīśa could not have come to the throne so early as that, and the only criticism² that I have seen on my observations, seems to me to be very unsatisfactory and serves only to confirm my statement. The reign referred to, therefore, is that of Kirtivarman, and if its twelfth year fell in 500 Śaka, Kirtivarman must have come to the throne in 489 Śaka corresponding to A. D. 567. In that Inscription Maṅgalīśa assigns all the good fruits of his charities to his brother in the presence of the gods Āditya and Agni and of the assembled crowd of men, and claims to himself only the fruit arising from serving his brother faithfully. In the copper-plate grant of the governor of Revati, referred to above, Śaka 532 is mentioned as the twentieth year of the reign of a prince who, from the titles given there and from the fact that Maṅgalīśa had about that period conquered the island, must have belonged to the Cālukya family. He could not have been Kirtivarman, for the island was not conquered in his time, neither could he be the successor of Maṅgalīśa who, as I shall presently state, got possession of the throne in 533 Śaka. He must therefore have been Maṅgalīśa himself, and if Śaka 532 was the twentieth year of his reign, he must have begun to reign in 513 Śaka.³ Kirtivarman thus reigned from 489 Śaka or A. D. 567 to 513 Śaka or A. D. 591, that is, for twenty-four years.

1 JBBRAS., Vol. XIV, pp. 23—25.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. X, pp. 57—58.

3 See also the arguments used by me in the paper referred to above. In a recently published article Dr. Fleet places the accession of Maṅgalīśa in 521 Śaka current, being led to it by the occurrence in an Inscription of that prince of the words राज्यपञ्चमश्री वर्षं प्रवर्त्तमाने सिद्धार्थे. I have carefully examined the facsimile of the Inscription given in the article; and am satisfied that this is by no means the correct reading. राज्य and प्रवर्त्तमाने are the only words that are certain and perhaps the word श्री also. But पञ्चम is highly doubtful; the letter which Dr. Fleet reads म is exactly like that which he reads ख; and there is some vacant space after ख and म in which something like another letter appears. Similarly the त्रि of सिद्धार्थे is hardly visible as an independent letter, and the next two letters are also doubtful. Besides in no other Inscription of the early Cālukyas does the cyclic year appear. (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 9 and ff.)

In the latter years of his reign Mangalisa seems to have been engaged in intrigues to keep his brother's son Pulakesi off from the succession, and to place his own son on the throne. But Pulakesi, who had grown to be a prince of remarkable abilities, baffled all his intrigues, and by the use of energy and counsel, he neutralized all the advantage that Mangalisa had by the actual possession of power, and in the attempt to secure the throne for his son, Mangalisa lost his own life and his kingdom.

Pulakesi, the son of Kirtivarman, succeeded. His full title was Satyāśraya Sri Pr̥thvi-Vallabha Mahārāja. From a copper-plate¹ grant executed in the third year of his reign and in 535 Śaka, he appears to have come to the throne in 533 Śaka or A.D. 611. After Mangalisa's death, the enemies whom his valour had kept in subjection rose on all sides. A prince of the name of Appāyika and another named Govinda (who very probably belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race, since that name occurs frequently in the genealogy of that family) attacked the new Cālukya king. The former, who had horses from the northern seas in his army, fled away in fear when opposed by the powerful forces of Pulakesi; and the latter surrendered to him and becoming his ally was received into favour and rewarded.² He then turned his arms against the Kadambas, attacked Banavāsi, their capital, and reduced it. The prince of the Ganga family, which ruled over the Cera³ country situated about the modern province of Mysore, and the head of the Alupa⁴ race, which probably held the province of Malabar, became his allies. He then sent his forces against the Mauryas of the Konkan, who were vanquished without any difficulty. With a fleet of hundreds of ships he attacked Puri,⁵ which was the

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 73.

² Ind. Ant., Vol VIII, p. 243, line 8 of the Inscription. From the words ca, ekena and apareṇa it is clear that two persons are here meant. But Dr. Fleet in his translation makes both of them one, which is a mistake; and the translation, I must say, is unintelligible.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 363, and Vol. VII, p. 168.

⁴ The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malbar Coast.

⁵ The town is called the Lakṣmī of the Western Ocean. It was probably the capital of the Maurya king of the Konkan and afterwards of the Silahāras.

mistress of the western sea, and reduced it. The kings of Lāṭa, Malava, and Gurjara were conquered and became his dependents.

About this time, there was a powerful monarch in Northern India whose name was Harṣavardhana. He was king of Kanoj, but in the course of time made himself the paramount sovereign of the North. He then endeavoured to extend his power to the south of the Narmadā, but was opposed by Pulakeśi, who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward, Pulakeśi received or assumed the title of Paramesvara or lord paramount. This achievement was by the later kings of the dynasty considered the most important, and that alone is mentioned in their copper-plate grants in the description of Pulakeśi II. Pulakeśi appears to have kept a strong force on the banks of the Narmadā to guard the frontiers.

Thus, by his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Mahārāstrakas containing ninety-nine thousand villages. The kings of Kosala and Kalinga¹ trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against the king of Kāñcipura or Conjeveram and laid siege to the town. He then crossed the Kāveri and invaded the country of the Colas, the Pāṇḍyas, and the Keralas. But these appear to have become his allies. After having in this manner established his supremacy throughout the South, he entered his capital and reigned in peace. The date of the Inscription from which the greater portion of this narrative is taken is 556 Śaka, corresponding to A.D. 634, so that Pulakeśi's career of conquest had closed before A.D. 634.

It was in the reign of this king that Hwan Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited India. In the course of his travels through the country he visited Mahārāstra, which he calls *Mo-ho-la-cha*. He saw Pulakeśi, whom he thus describes : " He is of the race of *Tsa-ta-li* (*Ksatriyas*) : his name is *Pu-lo-ki-she* ; his ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect self-devotion."²

¹ For the position of these countries, see Sec. III, para 2.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 290.

About Pulakesi's having withstood the power of Harsavardhana, which we have before mentioned on the authority of Inscriptions, Hwan Thsang speaks in these words : " At present the great king Śilāditya (Harsavardhana) carries his victorious arms from the east to the west ; he subdues distant peoples and makes the neighbouring nations fear him ; but the people of this kingdom alone have not submitted. Although he be often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he has summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms, and though he has marched himself to punish them, he has not yet been able to vanquish their opposition. From this we may judge of their warlike habits and manners. " ¹

The Chinese traveller visited Mahārāstra about the year A.D. 639, that is, five years after the Inscription referred to above was incised. The kingdom, according to him, was six thousand *li* (1200 miles) in circuit and the capital was thirty *li*, and towards the west was situated near a large river. The soil, climate, and the character and general condition of the people of Mahārāstra are thus described by him : " The soil is rich and fertile and produces abundance of grain. The climate is warm. The manners are simple and honest. The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insult them they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront. If one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge they never fail to give warning to their enemy ; after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they prepare for combat they drink wine to intoxicate them, and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies. If they kill a man met

¹ Ind. Ant, Vol. VII, p. 291.

upon the road the law does not punish them. Whenever the army commences a campaign these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum. Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of their coming to blows they drink also strong liquor. They run in a body trampling everything under their feet. No enemy can stand before them. The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slight^s the neighbouring kingdoms."

Pulakesī II appears undoubtedly to have been the greatest prince of this dynasty; and his fame reached even foreign countries. He is represented in an Arabic work to have sent an embassy to Chosroes II, king of Persia, who reigned from A. D. 591 to A. D. 628, in the thirty-sixth year of that prince's reign, and must have received one from him, either before or after.¹

During his reign the power of the Cālukyas was established over a very large extent of country. His younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana, otherwise called Viṣamasiddhi, seems to have for some time been appointed to rule over the Satara and Pandharpur districts, since a copper-plate Inscription of his found at Satara records the grant of a village situated on the southern bank of the Bhīmā.² Viṣṇuvardhana afterwards obtained the province of Vengi between the lower Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvari, where he founded another flourishing branch of Cālukya dynasty. Pulakesī's second brother Jayasimha must have been his brother's viceroy in the district about Nasik. For, in a copper-plate grant found in the Igatpuri taluka of that district, Nāgavardhana, the son of Jayasimha, assigns the village of Balegrāma, which has been identified with the modern Belgām Tarhala, about twelve miles to the north-east of Igatpuri, for the worship of the god Kāpālikeśvara.³ The district in which the village was situated is in the grant called Goparāstra. Similarly, Pulakesī's eldest son Candraditya ruled over the province which contained the Savantvadi district. In a copper-plate grant, Vijayabhattārikā, the queen of Candraditya,

¹ Arch. Sur. W. India, No. 9, pp. 90-92.

² JBBRAS., Vol. II, p. 11.

³ JBBRAS. Vol. II, p. 4, first translated by Bāla Sāstrī and then by me (JBBRAS., Vol. XIV), and last of all by Dr. Fleet (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 123).

who is styled Pr̥thvivallabha and Mahārāja or great king, assigns to certain Brahmins a field along with the adjoining Khajana (modern Khājana) or marshy land in the village of Kocarem situated on the coast about seven miles to the north of Vengurle. In another grant found at Nerur, she assigns a field in the fifth year of svarājya or "one's own reign". Now the reign referred to by this expression must be her husband's, so spoken of to distinguish it from that of his brother Vikramāditya, the second son of Pulakesi, who succeeded his father at the chief seat of government. Candraditya was a king, as the titles above given show, and it is proper that his crowned queen should speak of his reign as svarājya or her reign. It is not necessary that charities such as those recorded in these grants should, like political offices or rights, be conferred by the reigning prince alone. The religious merit arising from them is sought by women as much as by men; and hence a woman like Vijayabhattārikā might, during the lifetime of her husband, give a field. The fact of her doing so does not necessitate the supposition that she was a ruler or a regent when she made these grants, as has been thought. She was simply the crowned queen of a reigning monarch at that time.

Another son of Pulakesi named Ādityavarman seems to have ruled over the district near the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Tungabhadrā,¹ as a copper-plate grant of his issued in the first year of his reign was found in the Karnul District.

An undated grant of Pulakesi found at Chiplun in Southern Konkan has recently been published. In it he sanctions the grant of the village of Āmravatāka made by his maternal uncle Śrivallabha Senānandarāja, "the ornament" of the Sendraka race.² This appears to be a family of minor chiefs with whom the Cālukyas were connected. A similar grant was made by the next king at the request of the Sendraka chief Devaśakti³. Inscriptions of Sendrakas are found in Gujarat also, where probably they went when the power of the Cālukyas was established in that province. The name Sendraka is probably preserved in the modern Maratha name Sinde.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 244, and JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 223.

² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 51.

³ JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 223. See also below.

Pulakeśi was succeeded by his second son Vikramāditya. In the grants he is called Pulakeśi's priyatanaya or favourite son; so that it appears that Pulakeśi had arranged that Vikramāditya should succeed him at the principal seat of government, and had assigned an outlying province to his eldest son Candraditya.

At the beginning of this reign as of the previous ones there was a disturbance; but it did not come from the princes or chiefs more to the North who seem to have now been permanently humbled, but from the far South. The Pallava king of Kāñci or Conjeveram and the rulers of the Colas, the Pāṇḍyas, and the Keralas threw off the yoke which Pulakeśi had but loosely placed over them, and rebelled. Vikramāditya, who was a man of abilities and daring adventure, broke the power of the Colas, Pāṇḍyas, and Keralas. He defeated the Pallava king, captured his capital Kāñci, and compelled him, who had never before humbled himself before anybody, to do him homage. On the back of his horse Citrakantha and sword in hand he is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him. In this manner he acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father, and became the paramount sovereign of the country "between the three seas".¹

During the reign of Vikramāditya I, a branch of the Cālukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarat or the country called Lāṭa in ancient times. Vikramāditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasiṁhavarman Dharāśraya, who thus was another son of Pulakeśi II.² Śryāśraya Śilāditya son of Jayasiṁha made a grant of land while residing at Navasari in the year 421,³ and another in 443 while encamped at Kusumeśvara with his victorious army.⁴ In both of these Śryāśraya is called Yuvarāja or prince-regent and not a king. Another son of Jayasiṁha named Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla Jayāśraya Mangalarāja issued a similar charter in the Saka year

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 86, 89, 92; JBBRAS., Vol. III, p. 203; and Ind. Int., Vol. IX, pp. 127, 130-131.

² JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 2.

³ Ibid. pp. 2 and 3.

⁴ Transactions VII., Or. Congr., p. 226.

653.¹ Pulakeśi, who represents himself as the younger brother of Jayāśraya Māngalarasarāja and as meditating on his feet, granted a village in the year 490.² Both are styled kings.

From all this it appears that Jayasimhavarman though made sovereign of southern Gujarat, did not rule over the province himself but made his son Śryāśraya his regent. He held that position for more than twenty-two years; and does not appear to have become king in his own right, as he is not mentioned in Pulakeśi's grant. Pulakeśi, however, seems from his date to be his younger brother. Śryāśraya died before his father; Jayāśraya succeeded the latter as king and he was succeeded by Pulakeśi.

The dates 421, 443, and 490, the era of which is not given, would if referred to the Gupta era, be equivalent to 739, 761, and 808 of the Christian era respectively; while Jayāśraya's 653 Śaka is 731 A. D. But Vinyāditya the sovereign of the main branch who is mentioned in the grant of 443 died about 697 A. D.³, and Jayasimha whose Yuvarāja was Śryāśraya will have to be supposed to have lived to 761 A. D., i. e. 81 years after the death of his brother Vikramāditya; while the interval between Pulakeśi and his immediate predecessor Jayāśraya will become 77 years, as Śaka 653 of the latter corresponds to 731 A. D.

The Gupta era will, therefore, not do; and we must with the late Pandit Bhagvanlal refer the dates to the Traikūṭaka era of the use of which we have at least two instances. Thus Śryāśraya's dates will be 670 and 692 A. D., of Jayāśraya 731 A. D., and of Pulakeśi 739 A. D., and there will be no incongruity. But the original dates themselves 421 and 490 show the distance of time between Śryāśraya and Pulukeśi to be 69 years; and if we take the later date of the former it will be reduced to 47 years. Even this is too much and the only way to account for it is by supposing that the two youngest sons of Jayasimha Dharāśraya were born of a young wife married when he was advanced in years.

¹ JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 5.

² Transactions VII, Or. Congr., p. 230.

³ See below.

In Pulakesī's grant it is stated that he vanquished an army of Tājikas which had destroyed the Saindhava,¹ Kaccella,² Saurāstra, Cāvotaka,³ Maurya,⁴ Gurjara⁵ and other kings, and on its way to Daksināpatha to conquer the southern kings, had come to Navasari to reduce that country first. Thereupon Vallabhanarendra, who must have been Vijayāditya or Vikramāditya II, the reigning sovereign of the main branch, conferred upon him the titles of "Pillar of Daksināpatha" (Daksināpathasādhāra), "Ornament of the family of Caluka" (Cālukakulālaṅkāra), "Beloved of the earth" (Pr̥thivivallabha), the "Repeller of the unrepellable" (Anivartakanivartayitṛ) and "Support of men in the world" (Avanijanāśraya). As "Tājika" is a name applied to Arabs, from which the name "Tājika" of a branch of astrology, borrowed in the first instance from the Arabs is derived, the allusion in this grant is to an Arab invasion. And we have a mention of such invasions between the years 711 A. D. and 750 A. D. by Mahammad Kasim and his successors.⁶ Navasari was the capital of the Cālukyas of Lāṭa or southern Gujarat.

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarat Cālukyas found at Khera and translated by Prof. Dowson contains the names of three princes, viz., Jayasiṁharāja, Buddhavarmarāja, and Vijayarāja.⁷ Scholars and antiquarians have understood the first of these to be the same as Jayasiṁha the founder of the Cālukya dynasty of the Deccan. But I think the prince meant is Jayasimhavarman, the brother of Vikramāditya I and founder of the Gujarat branch of the dynasty; for nothing has hitherto been discovered connecting the early Cālukya princes with Gujarat. The grant, however,

1 King of modern Sindh.

2 Very likely king of Kaccha.

3 King of Anahilpaṭṭaya of the Cāpotkaṭa race.

4 King of the Maurya race; probably ruled over some part of the Konkan and the coast of southern Gujarat.

5 King of the Gujarat race; ruled over the Broach District.

6 Elphinstone's History of India.

7 JRAS., Vol. I., p. 268.

appears to me to be a forgery.¹ The Buddhavarman mentioned in it, if he existed at all, must have been another son of Jayasimhavarman, besides the two spoken of above, and he and his son Vijayarāja must have ruled over another part of Gujarat. If the grant is to be regarded as genuine, the date 394 will have to be referred to the Gupta era.

After Vikramāditya I, his son Vinayāditya came to the throne. One of his grants is dated Śaka 611, which was the tenth year of his reign,² another in 613 Śaka and in the eleventh year, and a third in 616 Śaka and the fourteenth year.³ There is also an Inscription of his on a stone tablet, the date occurring in which is 608 Śaka and the seventh year of his reign.⁴ From these it appears that Vinayāditya came to the throne in 602 Śaka corresponding to A. D. 680, in which year his father Vikramāditya must have ceased to reign. His latest year is A. D. 694, but his reign terminated in A. D. 696, as is seen from his son's grants referred to below.

During his father's lifetime, Vinayāditya assisted him in his wars with the Southern kings and won his love by destroying the forces of the Pallava king and of the other three, i. e. Cola, Pāndya, and Kerala, and tranquillizing the country. Between the eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign (A. D. 692—A. D. 695) he succeeded in making the Pallavas, Kalambhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Mālavas, Colas, Pāndyas, and others as steadfast allies of the Cālukya crown as the Ganga family of Cera and the Alupas, whose loyalty was for the first

1 My reasons are these :—(1) Its style is unlike that of the Cālukya grants. (2) It does not contain the usual invocation to the Boar incarnation. (3) It simply gives the three regulation names, i. e., so many as are prescribed, in the legal treatises. (4) There is a uniform mode of naming the three princes, by adding the suffix rāja, a mode not to be met with in the genuine Cālukya grants. (5) None of the three princes has a title or Biruda as all Cālukya princes from Pulakesī I downwards had.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 86.

3 Ibid., pp. 89, 92.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 112.

time secured by Pulakesi II.¹ The kings of Kāvera, or Kerala as it is read in some of the grants, of the Pārasikas, who were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabar, and of Sinhala were made tributaries.

He also seems, like his grandfather, to have fought with and defeated some paramount sovereign of Northern India whose name is not given, and to have acquired all the insignia of paramountcy, such as a certain standard called Pāli-dhvaja, the drum called Dhakkā, and others. These events must have taken place after 616 Śaka, since they are not mentioned in his grant of that year, but in those of his successors.² A chief of the name of Mahārāja Pogilli of the Sendraka family was a feudatory of his, in the South about Mysore.³

Vinayāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya. He appears to have assisted his grandfather in his campaigns against the Southern kings and his father in the expedition into the North. At one time he was captured by his enemies, though they had been defeated and were retreating. Notwithstanding he was in their custody he succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country, and when he got off, established his power everywhere and bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty.

There is an Inscription at Badami in which it is stated that during his reign, idols of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara were put up at Vātāpipura in Śaka 621 and the third year of his reign. One of his grants was issued in Śaka 622 on the full-moon day of Āśāḍha and in the fourth year of his reign, another in Śaka 627 and in the tenth year, and a third in Śaka 651 on the full-moon day of Phālguna and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign.⁴ On a comparison of all these dates it follows that his reign began in 618 Śaka after the full-moon day of Āśāḍha corresponding to A.D. 696. The first two of these grants, and another which bears no

¹ This fact is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p. 92) and in those of his successors.

² Ind. Ant., Vol., IX, pp. 127 and 131.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 143.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 112.

date, were found at Nerur in the Savantvadi state.¹ Vijayāditya had a long reign of thirty-six years.

After Vijayāditya, his son Vikramāditya II ascended the throne. A grant of his, engraved on a stone-tablet, is dated in 656 Śaka and in the second year of his reign,² wherefore he must have come to the throne in 655 Śaka or A.D. 733. Soon after his coronation he had to turn his arms against his hereditary enemy the Pallava king. The name of the prince who reigned at the Pallava capital at this time was Nandipotavarman. Vikramāditya marched against him in haste and encountered him in the Tudāka country. Nandipotavarman was defeated and had to fly away from the battle-field. The Cālukya king got a good deal of spoil in the shape of large quantities of rubies, elephants, and instruments of martial music.

He then entered the city of Kāñci, but did not destroy it. In that city he gave a good deal of money to Brahmans and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Rājasiṁhesvara and other gods the gold which, it appears, had been taken away by some previous king. He then fought with the Colas, the Pāndyas, the Keralas, and the Kalabhras, and reduced them.³

Vikramāditya married two sisters belonging to the family of the Haihayas. The elder of these was called Lokamahādevī and she built a temple of Śiva under the name of Lokesvara, at Patṭadkal in the Kaladgi district. The younger's name was Trailokyamahādevī, and she built another in the vicinity dedicated to the same god under the name of Trailokyesvara. The latter was the mother of Kirtivarman, the next king.⁴ Vikramāditya reigned for fourteen years.

His son Kirtivarman II began to reign in 669 Śaka or A.D. 747, since a grant of his, made in the eleventh year of his reign, bears the date 679 Śaka.⁵ He assisted his father in his wars with

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 127 and 131; and JBBRAS, Vol. III, p. 203 et seq.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 107.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 26.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 165. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 5.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 27.

the Pallavas. On one occasion he marched against the Pallava king with his father's permission. The ruler of Kāñci, too weak to face him in the battle-field, took refuge in a fortress. His power was broken by the Cālukya king, who returned to his country with a large spoil.

During the reign of this prince the Cālukyas were deprived of their power in Mahārāstra, and the sovereignty of the country passed from their hands into those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes. The main branch of the dynasty became extinct: but it had several minor offshoots, and one of these in the person of Tailapa succeeded in the course of time in regaining supreme power. From this time forward, therefore, we do not meet with any copper-plate grants issued by the Cālukyas; but Rāṣṭrakūṭa plates belonging to this intervening period are met with from Radhanpur in Northern Gujarat to Samangad near Kolhapur and Nagpur in the Central Provinces. The grant of Kīrtivarman II, from which the above account of that prince is taken, does not allude to the fact of his disgrace, but he must have lost possession of the greater portion of his kingdom before Śaka 679, the date of the grant.

The name of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch who first humbled the Cālukyas was Dantidurga, and the work begun by him was completed by his successor Kṛṣṇa. In a copper-plate grant of the former found at Samangad he is spoken of as having become paramount sovereign after having vanquished Vallabha.¹ The date occurring in the grant is 675 Śaka. Before that time, therefore, the Cālukyas must have lost their hold over Mahārāstra. In the Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates, the Cālukyas are spoken of as having lost sovereign power in the reign of Kīrtivarman II. We will therefore here close our account of the early Cālukyas.

During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Cālukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence. Ravikīrti, the Jaina who composed the Aihole Inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronized by Pulakesi II. Vijayāditya gave a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple to Udayadevapandita or Niravadyapandita, the house pupil of Śripūjyapāda, who be-

¹ JBBRAS., Vol. II, p. 375.

longed to the Devagana sect of the Mūlasaṅgha, i. e. of the Digambara Jainas. Niravadyapāṇḍita is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Vijayāditya's¹ father, i. e. Vinayāditya. Vikramāditya II repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijayapāṇḍita, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in argument and is styled the only disputant.² But Jainism in those days, as at the present, probably flourished in the Southern Maratha Country only.

If the Pūjyapāda who was the preceptor of Niravadyapāṇḍita was the famous grammarian of that name, he must have flourished some time before 618 Śaka, the date of Vinayāditya's death, i. e. about 600 Śaka or 678 A. D. All that is known about Pūjyapāda and his relations to the Digambara writers is not inconsistent with this date. But another date two hundred years earlier has also been assigned to Pūjyapāda.

No Inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the Cālukya princes. But that the religion did prevail, and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries, is shown by the account given by Hwan Thsang. Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline.

With the decline of Buddhism came the revival of Brahmanism and especially of the sacrificial religion. The prevalence of the religion of Buddha had brought sacrifices into discredit; but we now see them rising into importance. Pulakesi I is mentioned in all the Inscriptions in which his name occurs, as having performed a great many sacrifices and even the Aśvamedha.

I have elsewhere³ remarked that the names of most of the famous Brahmanical writers on sacrificial rites have the title of Svāmin attached to them; and that it was in use at a certain period, and was given only to those conversant with the sacrificial lore. The period of the early Cālukyas appears to be that period.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 112.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 197.

³ Report on MSS. for 1881, pp. 31, 32.

Amongst the Brahman grantees of these princes we have Nandisvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin;¹ Dāsasvāmin the son of Jannasvāmin and grandson of Revāsvāmi-Diksita;² Devasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Nāgammassvāmin, another Devasvāmin, Gargasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin,³ Prabhākarsvāmin, Keśavasvāmin,⁴ &c. There are others whose names have not this title attached to them. Among these names there are three borne by the great commentators on sacrificial Sūtras and rites, viz. Karkasvāmin, Devasvāmin, and Keśavasvāmin. Though it would be hazardous to assume that these writers were exactly the persons who are mentioned in the grants with those names, still it admits of no reasonable doubt that they are to be referred to the period when the Cālukyas reigned in Mahārāshtra; and probably flourished in the Deccan or the Telugu and Kanarese countries. For the revival of Brahmanism was carried on vigorously in the Southern India. The ritual of the sacrifices must during the previous centuries have become confused, and it was the great object of these writers to settle it by the interpretation of the works of the old Rsis.

And the Purānic side of Brahmanism also received a great development during this period. Temples in honour of the Purānic triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places. The worship of Śiva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nasik grant of Nāgavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kāpālikeśvara, or the god wearing a garland of skulls, would show. Cave Architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Purānic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave temple at Badami dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu by Maṅgaliśa. The Cālukyas, like their predecessors in previous times, were tolerant towards all religions.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 77.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 128.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 131.

⁴ JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, pp. 237, 239.

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY CALUKYAS.

<p>1. Jayasimha.</p> <p>2. Rāparāga.</p> <p>3. Pulakesi I.—Satyāśraya Śri Pulakesi Vallabha.</p>	<p>4. Kirtivarman I, Śaka 489—513 or A.D. 567—591.</p>	<p>5. Mangalisa, Śaka 513—532 or A.D. 591—610.</p>	<p>6. Pulakesi II.—Satyāśraya Śri Prabhūvallabha began to reign in Śaka 532 or A.D. 610, was on the throne in Śaka 556 or A.D. 634, and soon by Hwan Thsang in A.D. 639.</p>	<p>Vishnuvardhana, founded the eastern Calukya dynasty.</p>	<p>Jayasimha.</p>	<p>Nāgavar-dhana.</p>
	<p>7. Candrasimha I., Aditya-Jayasimha.</p>		<p>8. Vinayaditya I., Aditya-Jayasimha.</p>		<p>9. Vijayaditya, Śaka 618—655 or A.D. 696—733.</p>	
	<p>9. Vijayaditya, Śaka 618—655 or A.D. 696—733.</p>		<p>10. Vikramaditya II, Śaka 655—669 or A.D. 733—747.</p>		<p>11. Kirtivarman II, Śaka 669 or A.D. 747, deprived of supreme sovereignty by Dantidurga before Śaka 675 or A.D. 753.</p>	

SECTION XI.

THE RĀSTRAKŪTAS.

The Rāstrakūtas are represented to have belonged to the race of Yadu.¹ According to the Wardha plates they were members of the Sātyaki branch of the race ; and were the direct descendants of a prince of the name of Raṭṭa. He had a son of the name of Rāstrakūṭa after whom the family was so called. These are clearly imaginary persons ; and as remarked before, the Rāstrakūṭa family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Kṣatriyas named Raṭṭhas who gave their name to the country of Mahārāstra and were found in it even in the times of Aśoka the Maurya.

The Rāstrakūtas were the real native rulers of the country and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Śātavāhanas and the Cālukyas who established themselves in the Deccan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated.

The earliest prince of the dynasty mentioned in the grants hitherto discovered is Govinda I. But in an Inscription in the rock-cut temple of the Daśāvatāras at Ellora, the names of two earlier ones, Dantivarman and Indrarāja, occur.² The latter was Govinda's father and the former his grandfather. Govinda I was probably the prince of that name who in Ravikirti's inscription at Aihole is spoken of as having attacked the Cālukya king Pulakeśi II and to have afterwards become his ally.

Govinda was succeeded by his son Karka, during whose reign the Brahmans performed many sacrifices and who seems to have patronized the old Vedic religion. After him his son Indrarāja came to the throne. Indrarāja married a girl who belonged to the Cālukya family, though on her mother's side she was connected with the lunar race, probably that of the Rāstrakūtas themselves.

¹ Kharepatan plate, JBBRAS, Vol. I, p. 217 ; Sangli plates, JBBRAS, Vol. IV, p. 111.; Navasari plates and Wardha plates, JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII., p. 239 et seq.

² Arch. Surv. West Ind., No. 10, pp. 92-96.

From this union sprang Dantidurga, who became king after his father. With a handful of soldiers Dantidurga defeated the army of Karnāṭaka, which hitherto had achieved very great glory by vanquishing the forces of the kings of Kāñci, the Keralas, Colas, and Pāṇḍyas, and of Śrīharsa, the lord paramount of Northern India, and Vajrata¹; and thus conquered Vallabha or the last Cālukya king Kirtivarman II with ease. He thus acquired paramount sovereignty in the South.² He also subdued the kings of Kāñci, Kalinga, Kosala, Śrī-Saila,³ Mālava, Lāta, and Tāṅka. At Ujjayinī he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity.⁴ A grant of Dantidurga found at Samangad in the Kolhapur district bears the date 675 of the Śaka era, corresponding to A. D. 753.⁵

Dantidurga died childless according to a grant found at Karda,⁶ and his paternal uncle Kṛṣnarāja succeeded to the throne. Another grant found at Baroda⁷ omits the name of Dantidurga, since the object of the writer was simply to give the pedigree of the reigning monarch, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral, and not to give the names of all the previous kings. In that grant Kṛṣnarāja is spoken of as having "rooted out" a prince belonging to the same family with himself who had taken to evil ways and to have himself assumed the task of governing for the "benefit of his race."

The prince dethroned or destroyed by Kṛṣnarāja could not have been Dantidurga, as has been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family. In a grant found at Kavi, and another found in the Navasari district, Kṛṣṇa is represented

¹ The army of Karnāṭaka was thus the army of the Cālukyas.

² Samangad grant, JBBRAS, Vol. II, p. 375.

³ This must have been the country about Śrī-Saila which contains the celebrated shrine of Mallikārjuna and which is situated on the lower Kṛṣṇā in the Karnul District, Madras Presidency.

⁴ Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10. loc. cit.

⁵ Referred to above.

⁶ JRAS, Vol. III.

⁷ Published in JBAS, Vol. VIII, pp. 292--303.

to have succeeded to the throne after Dantidurga's death.¹ The prince whom he set aside, therefore, must either have been a son of Dantidurga or some other person with a better claim to the throne than himself. The statement of the Karda plate that Dantidurga died childless may be discredited as being made two hundred years after the occurrence.

Kṛṣṇarāja, otherwise called Śubhatunga and also Akālavarsa, carried on the work of Dantidurga and reduced the Cālukyas to complete subjection. In two of the grants² he is spoken of "as having with the aid of gods in the form of his counsellors or followers churned the ocean of the Cālukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed³—an ocean that was inaccessible to others,—and drawn out from it the Lakṣmi⁴" of paramount sovereignty. He is said to have defeated Rāhappa who was proud of his own power and prowess, and afterwards assumed the ensigns of supreme sovereignty. Who⁵ this person was we have not the means of determining.

In the Wardha plates Kṛṣṇarāja is represented to have constructed many temples of Siva, which resembled the Kailāsa mountain.⁶ In the Baroda grant it is stated that Kṛṣṇarāja "caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elāpura. When the gods moving in their aerial cars saw it, they were struck with wonder, and constantly thought

1 See stanza 11 (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 146) of the first half of which only तस्मिन्द्रश्च [गंत] remains, and lines 15 and 16; JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII, p. 257, lines 14, 15.

2 Vani-Dindori (JRAS., Vol. V) and Rādhanpur (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 65) grants.

3 The legend is that in early times mountains had wings, and as they did considerable mischief by their use, Indra set about cutting them. The mountains thereupon took refuge in the sea. The story originated from the double sense which the word parvata bears in the Vedas. It denotes "a mountain" and "a cloud" also. Indra was the god who prevented the clouds from flying from place to place, and compelled them to discharge their freight on the earth for the benefit of his human worshippers.

4 Viṣṇu churned the ocean with the aid of the gods and drew out Lakṣmi from it, whom he married.

5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 182, l. 13,

6 Loc. cit.

much over the matter saying to themselves, 'This temple of Śiva is self-existent; for, such beauty is not to be found in a work of art.' Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, 'Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it.' King Kṛṣṇa with his own hands again decorated Śambhu (Śiva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies, and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Gaṅgā, the moon, and the deadly poison."

The ending *pura* in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Simhapura, Indur for Indrapura, Sirur for Śripura, &c. The Elāpura of the Inscription, therefore, is Elur; and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailāsa itself.¹ Thus it appears that it was Kṛṣṇarāja that caused the Kailāsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to it by Drs. Fergusson and Burgess simply on architectural grounds is verified. Kṛṣṇarāja must have reigned

1 Dr. Bühler in his paper in Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, simply states that the "grant (Baroda) connects him (Kṛṣṇarāja) with the hill at Elapur, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Śiva." He has not identified Elāpura and did not perceive the important significance of this and the next two stanzas. He, however, suspected that one of the verses was badly deciphered. That this and the following verses are somewhat badly deciphered there is no doubt; but the translation in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal is far worse and Dr. Bühler was misled by it. Dr. Fleet has published a revised translation (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 162), but as regards this passage it certainly is no improvement on the first. He also once spoke of "a hill fort" (Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 134), and now thinks Elāpura is in the passage meant to be represented as Kṛṣṇarāja's "encampments." He identifies Elapura with Yellapur in the North Kanara districts. But the manner in which the temple is described according to my translation and also the obvious derivation of Elur from Elāpura, and Elurā from Elāpuraka, leave little doubt that a rock-cut temple at Elura is meant to be spoken of; and actually the existence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa Inscription in one of the temples confirms my conclusion. That my translation is correct and appropriate, I have shown in an article published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 221, where the reader will find the point fully discussed.

in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era, i. e., between 753 and 775 A. D.

Kṛṣṇarāja was succeeded by his son Govinda II.¹ Nothing particular is recorded of him in the grants, except, of course, the general praise which is accorded to every prince, however weak and inglorious. It however appears from the Vani-Dindori and Radhanpur grants that he was superseded by his younger brother, Dhruva, and the grants endeavour to palliate his crime in having thus usurped the throne. The Wardha grant states that he gave himself up to sensual pleasures, and left the cares of the kingdom to his younger brother Nirupama; and thus allowed the sovereignty to drop away from his hands. But subsequently he seems from the Paithan² grant to have endeavoured to regain his power with the assistance of the neighbouring princes, when Dhruva vanquished him in a battle and formally assumed the insignia of supreme sovereignty.

At the end of a Purāna entitled Harivāṁśa of the Digambara Jainas, it is stated that the work was composed by Jinasena in the Śaka year 705 while Vallabha the son of Kṛṣṇa was ruling over the South. Govinda II is in the Kavi and Paithan grants called Vallabha, while one of the names of Dhruva, the second son of Kṛṣṇa I, was Kalivallabha. Govinda II, therefore, must be the prince alluded to, and he appears thus to have been on the throne in the Śaka year 705, or A.D. 783.³

Dhruva was an able and warlike prince. His other names were Nirupama or the "Matchless," Kalivallabha, and Dhāravarṣa. He humbled the Pallava king of Kāñcī and obtained from him

1 The name of this prince is omitted in the Vani-Dindori and Radhanpur grants, for the same reason apparently as that for which Dantidurga's is omitted in the Baroda grant; but he is alluded to when they state that Dhruva or Nirupama set aside his elder brother.

2 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 107.

3 शाकेष्वव्यशेषु सप्तसु दिशि पञ्चोनेषु जगं
पार्तीन्द्रायुधनाभि कृष्णनृपं शीवलभे इक्षिणाम् ।
पूर्वी शीमद्वन्निष्ठमुनि नृपे वत्सादि (शि) गजेश्वरं
सोर्यां (ग) गामधिमण्डले (ल) जययूते शो वरो ज्ञानि ॥

Rajendralal's Skr. MSS, Vol. VI, p. 80, and MSS in the Deccan College Collections.

a tribute of elephants. He detained in custody the prince of the Ganga family, which ruled over the Cera country. He also carried his arms into the North against the king of the Vatsas, whose capital must have been Kausāmbī, the modern Kosam near Allahabad, and who had grown haughty by his conquest of a king of the Gauda country. He drove the Vatsa prince into the impassable desert of Marwar and carried away the two state umbrellas which he had won from the Gauda king.¹ The Jaina Harivamśa represents a Vatsa prince as ruling over the west in Śaka 705. He must have been the same as that vanquished by Nirupama. According to the Navasari grant Nirupama took away the umbrella of the king of Kosala also; and in the Wardha plates he is represented as having three white umbrellas. A stone Inscription at Paṭṭadakal was incised in the reign of Nirupama. There he is styled Dhārāvara and Kalivallabha.² The last name occurs also in the Wardha grant and the first in that found at Paithan. This prince does not appear to have reigned long, as his brother was on the throne in Śaka 705 and his son in Śaka 716, the year in which the Paithan charter was issued.

Dhruva-Nirupama was succeeded by his son Govinda III. The Radhanpur and Vani-Dindori grants were issued by him in the Śaka year 730 corresponding to A.D. 808³ while he was at Mayūrakhandī. This place has been identified with a hill-fort in the Nasik territory of the name of Morkhand. Whether Mayūrakhandī was the capital of the dynasty in the time of this king cannot be satisfactorily determined. Govinda III was certainly one of the greatest of the Rastrakūṭa princes, and the statement in his grant that during his time the Rāstrakūṭas became invincible, as the Yādavas of Purāṇic history did when under the guidance of Kṛṣṇa, appears credible. Seeing he had grown up to be a brave prince his father proposed to abdicate the throne in his favour, but

¹ Vani-Dindori and Radhanpur plates.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 125.

³ The Sativatsara or cyclic year given in the first is Sarvajit, the current Śaka year corresponding to which was 730, while in the second it is Vyaya corresponding to 729 current. As regards the exact signification to be attached to these dates, see Appendix B.

he declined, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with his position as Yuvarāja or prince-regent.¹

When after his father's death he ascended the throne, twelve kings united their forces and rose against him, desirous of striking an effectual blow at the power of the Rāstrakūtas. But alone and unassisted, he by his personal valour suddenly inflicted a crushing defeat on them and broke the confederacy. He released the Ganga prince of Cera, who had been kept in custody by his father; but no sooner did he go back to his native country, than he put himself into an attitude of hostility. But Govinda III immediately vanquished him, and threw him into captivity again.

Subsequently he marched against the Gurjara king, who fled away at his approach. Thence he proceeded to Malwa, the king of which country knowing himself to be unable to resist his power surrendered to him. After receiving his obeisance he directed his march to the Vindhya. When Mārāśarva, the ruler of the adjoining country, who had been watching his movements, heard from his spies that Govinda's army had encamped on the slopes of that mountain, he went up to him, and throwing himself at his feet presented to him his most highly valued heirlooms which no other prince had ever got before. On this occasion Govinda spent the rainy season at a place called Śribhavana, which has not been identified. When the rains were over, he marched with his army to the Tungabhadra, where he stayed for a short time, and brought the Pallava king of Kāñci under a more complete subjection than before. Thence he sent a message to the king of Venigī, or the country between the lower Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvari, who probably belonged to the eastern Cālukya dynasty, and he came and attended on him as if he were his servant.²

¹ The Kavi grant, however, states that the father did raise him to the supreme sovereignty which his enemies were endeavouring to deprive his family of, i. e. when he found the enemies of his family too powerful for him, he raised his son to the throne and assigned to him the task of suppressing them. Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 147, v. 27. The reading, however, is somewhat corrupt. The enemies spoken of here must be those twelve whom he is represented to have vanquished in the other grants.

² Vani Dindori and Radhanpur plates.

This grand victorious march to the North and the South must have taken place before Śaka 726 or A. D. 804. For, in a copper-plate grant bearing that date found in the Kanarese country, it is stated that when the king (Govinda III) "having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kānci had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the banks of the Tungabhadra" he allotted some lands to one Śivadhāri at a holy place named Rāmeśvara.¹ His expeditions against the neighbouring princes must have been undertaken after Śaka 716 past, or 794 A. D., since the Paithan charter which was issued in that year makes no mention of them.

Govinda III thus acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings. He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Malwa in the North to Kāncipūra in the South, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmadā and Tungabhadra. The Vani-Dindori plates convey a village situated in the Nasik district, while those found in the Kanarese country assign some land near the Tungabhadra. The province of Lāṭa, situated between the Mahi and the lower Tāpi, was assigned by him to his brother Indra,² who became the founder of another branch of the dynasty. Govinda III, as stated in the Baroda grant, made and unmade kings. His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhūtavarsa or "Raining profusely," Pṛthvivallabha or "the Lover of the Earth," and Śrī-Vallabha. Others will be noticed below. The Baroda grant was issued by Karka, the son of Govinda's brother Indra, the king of Lāṭa, in Śaka 734 or A. D. 812, and the Kavi grant, by Govinda the younger brother of Karka, in Śaka 749 or A. D. 827. We need not notice these princes further, since they belong more to the history of Gujarat than of the Deccan.

In several of the grants belonging to this dynasty, the son and successor of Nirupama is stated to be Jagattunga. Now, since Govinda III was one of the greatest princes of this dynasty,

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp. 126-7.

² Kavi plate, Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 147, v. 29; Baroda grant. JBAS, Vol. VIII, p. 296, v. 21, in which तदा ought to be तद्दन् as in the Kavi.

it is impossible that he should have been passed over by the writers of these grants. Jagattunga, the son of Nirupama, must, therefore, be Govinda himself and no other.

After his death his son Amoghavarsa, whose proper name appears to have been Śarva,¹ came to the throne. He seems to have marched against the Cālukyas of Vengi and put several of the princes to death.² In the Navasari grant Amoghavarsa is spoken of simply as Vallabha and is styled Rājarāja or king of kings and also Vira-Nārāyana. This last title is justified by the poetic writer of the grant by saying that as the God Nārāyana brought out the earth which was immersed in the ocean, so did Vallabha bring the goddess of sovereignty out of the ocean in the shape of the Cālukyas in which it had sunk. He is also represented to have "burnt" the Cālukyas. These also must be allusions to Amoghavarsa's wars with the Cālukyas of Vengi; and he probably conquered some territory belonging to them.

In the Karda grant the city of Mānyakhēta is spoken of as being in a very flourishing condition in his time. There is little question that it was his capital; but whether it was he who founded it and made it the capital of the dynasty cannot be clearly made out from that grant, as the reading given by Mr. Wathen is corrupt. But the Wardha plates are clear on the point. In them the successor of Jagattunga is called Nrpatunga; and he is represented to have founded the city of Mānya-khēta, which "put the city of the Gods" to shame. Mānyakhēta has been properly identified with Malkhed in the Nizam's territory.

In the Kanheri caves there are three Inscriptions, in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavarsa. In one of them Pullāsakti of the Śilāhāra family, and in the other two his son, Kapardin, are mentioned as his dependents ruling over Konkan, which province had been assigned to them by Amoghavarsa. The dates occurring in the last two are Śaka 775 and

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 183, l. 25.

² Sangli plates. But the reading is somewhat corrupt.

799.¹ An Inscription at Sirur in the Dharwar district published by Dr. Fleet is dated Śaka 788, vyaya, which is represented as the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsa;² so that the year 799 Śaka of the Kanheri Inscription must have been the sixty-third of his reign. The cyclic year vyaya corresponds to the Śaka 788 *past* and 789 *current*. This prince appears thus to have begun to reign in Śaka 737 *past*.

In a historical appendix at the end of a Jaina work entitled *Uttarapurāṇa*, or the latter half of the *Mahāpurāṇa*, by *Gunabhadra*, Amoghavarsa is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named *Jinasena*, who was the preceptor of *Gunabhadra*, and wrote the *Ādipurāṇa* or the first part of the same work.³ *Jinasena* himself at the end of his poem the *Pārvīvābhūdaya* gives expression to a wish that Amoghavarsa may reign for a long time. An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara Jainas entitled *Jayadhvavalā* is represented at the end to have been composed when 759 years of the Śaka king had elapsed in the reign of Amoghavarsa. In the introductory portion of a Jaina mathematical work entitled *Sārasaṅgraha* by *Virācārya*, Amoghavarsa is highly praised for his power and his virtues, and is spoken of

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. VI, West's copies Nos. 15 and 42; Ibid, Vol. XIII, p. 11; and Prof. Kielhorn's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 133. The cyclic year given with 773 is *Prajāpati*, the current Śaka year corresponding to which however, was 774. Prof. Kielhorn has recently calculated the true Śaka from the day of the week and fortnight and found it to be 773 expired, i. e. 774 *current*.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 216.

³ Several copies of this *Purāṇa* have been purchased by me for Government. The stanza in which Amoghavarsa is alluded to is this :—

यस्य प्रांशुनर्वांशुजालविसरद्धा गन्तराविभृत्व-
त्वादाम्भोजरजः विशङ्कमुकुटप्रत्यग्रान्त्युतिः ।
संस्पर्णा स्वमोघवर्षवृपतिः पूनोहमयेत्यलं
स श्रीमाजिनसेनपूज्यमगवत्यादो जगन्मङ्गलम् ॥

"The king Amoghavarsa remembered himself to have been purified that day when the lustre of the gems was heightened in consequence of his diadem becoming reddish by the dust-pollen of [*Jinasena*'s] foot-lotuses appearing in the stream [of waterlike lustre] flowing from the collection of the brilliant rays of his nails ;—enough—that prosperous *Jinasena* with the worshipful and revered feet is the blessing of the world. "

as a follower of the Jaina doctrine (Syādvāda).¹ He is mentioned there also by his other name Nṛpatunga. The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled Praśnottara-ratnamālikā, which has been claimed for Saṅkarācārya and one Saṅkaraguru by the Brahmans, and for Vimala by the Śvetanibaras, is attributed to king Amoghavarṣa by the Digambara Jainas. At the end of the Digambara copies occurs a stanza, in which it is stated that Amoghavarṣa composed the Ratnamālikā after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit² in him. There is another Amoghavarṣa in the dynasty who is represented as being of a thoughtful and religious temper. But he reigned for a short time and does not appear to have had any connection with the Jainas. There is a translation of the work in the Tibetan language, and there, too, the tract is attributed to Amoghavarṣa, who is represented as a great king. The Tibetan translation of the name has been retranslated, however, into Amoghodaya by Schiefner; but if he had known the Digambara tradition, he would have put it as Amoghavarṣa.³

From all this it appears that of all the Rāstrakūṭa princes, Amoghavarṣa was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jainas; and the statement that he adopted the Jaina faith seems to be true.

Amoghavarṣa's son and successor was Akālavarsa. He married the daughter of Kokala, king of Cedi, who belonged to the Hai-haya race, and by her had a son named Jagattunga. Akālavarsa's proper name was Kṛṣṇa as is evident from the Navasari grant and also from the Wardha and the Karda plates. He is the Kṛṣṇarāja during whose reign a tributary chief of the name of Pṛthvirāma made a grant of land to a Jaina temple which he had caused to be constructed in the Śaka year 797 at Saundatti.⁴ Another

1 This and the two preceding references I owe to the kindness of Mr. K. B. Pathak.

2 See my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84; Notes, &c., p. ii. The stanza is

अवैकान्यकर्गज्येन गङ्गयं गतमालिका ।
गविसामेघधर्षणं सुधियां सत्रलक्ष्मि ॥

3 Weber's Indische Streifen, Vol. I., p. 210.

4 JBBRAS., Vol. X., p. 200, The cyclic year mentioned is Manmatha, which corresponds to Śaka 797 past,

Jaina temple was built by a Vaisya or Bania named Cikārya during his reign in Śaka 824 at Mulgund in the Dharwar district; and in the Inscription which records this fact he is styled Kṛṣṇa Vallabha.¹

Kṛṣṇa or Akālavarṣa appears to have been a powerful prince. He is represented as having frightened the Gūrjara, humbled the pride of the Lāṭa, taught humility to the Gaudas, deprived the people on the sea-coast of their repose, and exacted obedience from the Āndhra, Kalinga, Gāṅga, and Magadha.²

In the reign of this prince the Jaina Purāṇa noticed above, was consecrated in Śaka 820, the cyclic year being Piṅgala,⁶ by Lokasena the pupil of Guṇadhara, who was the author of the second part. In the historical appendix, "the lofty elephants of Akālavarṣa" are represented "to have drunk the waters of the Ganges rendered fragrant by being mixed with the humour flowing from their temples, and, as if not having their thirst quenched, to have resorted to the Kaumāra forest (in the extreme south), which was full of sandal trees set in gentle motion by the breezes blowing over the sea waves, and into the shade of which the rays of the

1 Ib., p. 192, The cyclic year is Dundubhi, which fell in 825 current.

2 Wardha and Navasari plates, JBBRAS., Vol. XVIII pp. 239-269.

अकालवर्षभूपाले पालयन्विलामिलाम् ।
तस्मिन्विध्वस्तनिःशोषद्विषि वीधयशोजुर्णि ॥

धर्म v. l.

* * * *

शकभूपकालाभ्यन्तरविशत्यथिकाहशतमिनाद्वान्ते ।
मङ्गलमहार्थकारिणि पिङ्गलनामनि समस्तजनसुखदे ॥

* * * *

निहितं भद्रवर्णं:

प्रापेऽन्यं शास्त्रसारं जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुराणम् ॥

"Victorious in the world is this holy Purāṇa, the essence of the Sāstras which was finished and worshipped by the best among respectable [men]" * * in the year Piṅgala that brings about great prosperity and confers happiness on all mankind, at the end of the year measured by 820 of the era of the Śaka king * * *, while that king Akālavarṣa, all of whose enemies were destroyed and whose fame was pure (or who acquired religious merit and fame) was protecting the whole earth."

The cyclic year year Piṅgala corresponded to 820 Śaka current.

sun did not penetrate."¹ The date 833 Śaka has also been assigned to Akālavarsa.² It will have been seen that an Inscription at Saundatti represents Kṛṣṇarāja to have been the reigning prince in Śaka 797, while one in the Kanheri caves speaks of his father Amoghavarsa as being on the throne two years later, i. e., in 799. This discrepancy must be due to the fact mentioned in the Ratnamālikā that the latter had abdicated the throne in his oldage. The real reigning prince therefore in Śaka 797 and 799 must have been Akālavarsa his son; but the writer of the Kanheri Inscription must in the latter year have put in Amoghavarsa's name, as he was not dead, and his having abdicated had probably no significance in his eyes.

Akālavarsa's son was Jagattunga. But he did not ascend the throne as appears from the fact that his name is not mentioned in the list of kings given in the Kharepatan grant, after Akālavarsa, but that of Indra, who is spoken of as Akālavarsa's grandson, while Jagattunga is mentioned in another connection below. And in the Navasari grant Indra is represented as " meditating on the feet " of Akālavarsa, and not of Jagattunga though he was his father, which shows that he was the immediate successor of Akālavarsa. But the Wardha grant is explicit. It tells us that Jagattunga had a beautiful person, and that he died without having ascended the throne. Jagattunga married Laksmi, the daughter of his material uncle, the son of Kokkala, who is called Ranavigraha in the Sangali and Navasari grants, and Śāmkaragana in the Karda plates. But it will be presently shown that the Karda plates contain many mistakes and are the source of a good deal of confusion in the history of this dynasty. From this union sprang Indra, who succeeded his grandfather. His title was Nityavarsa according to the Navasari grant; and his son Govinda IV is in the Sangali grant spoken of as " meditating on the feet " of Nityavarsa, which also shows, that that was Indra's title.

1

यस्येत्तुकृमतंगजा निजमद्वोत्तिष्ठनीमंगमा-
द्राङ् शारि कलाद्विस कदु महः शिवायगच्छुर्वा: ।
कौमारं चन्द्रचन्द्रं चन्द्रपांशुभूमध्यालिपे-
मन्दादेवित्तमस्तमास्करकच्छुर्वं समाशिष्यन् ॥

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 109.

Nityavarsa is the donor in the Navasari grant. He is represented as residing at his capital Mānyakhetā, but to have on the occasion gone to Kurundaka, identified with the modern Kadoda on the banks of the Tāpi, for his Pattiabandhotsava. This must have been the festival in honour of his coronation. At Kurundaka he granted that and many other villages, and restored four hundred more which had once been given in charity but had been resumed by former kings. He also gave away twenty lacs of Drammas in charity after having weighed himself against gold. The village conveyed by the Navasari grant is Tenna situated in the Lāṭa country. It has been identified with Tena in the Navasari division of the Baroda State. The grant was issued in Śaka 836; so that Indra appears to have come to the throne in that year. Another set of copper-plates found in the Navasari district records the grant of the village of Gumra (identified with the modern Bagumra) by the same prince. The grant was issued at the same time as the other, and the contents mutatis mutandis are exactly the same.¹

From these grants of villages in the Navasari district which must have formed a part of the old country of Lāṭa, and from the statement in the Wardha plates that Kṛṣṇa or Akālavarsa humbled the pride of the Lāṭa prince, it appears that the main branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas reigning at Mānyakhetā must have, in Akālavarsa's time, supplanted or reduced to a humble position the dynasty of their kinsmen in Gujarat, which had been founded in the time of Jagattunga or Govinda III. Indra was the reigning monarch in Śaka 838, the cyclic year being Dhātu, as appears from an Inscription published by Dr. Fleet.²

As regards the next king there is some confusion in the Karda plates. The Sangali grant, however, is clear. Indra married a lady from the Haihaya family of Cedi again. Her name was Vijāmbā;³ and she was the daughter of Āṅgañadeva, the son of

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. XVII, p. 261f.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XI¹, p. 224.

³ Dr. Fleet in his revised transcript and translation of the Sangali grant calls her Dvijāmbā, but in the facsimile given by him the name is distinctly Vijāmbā in both the places where it occurs. The Sanskrit of Vijāmbā is Vidyāmbā, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI¹, p. 250.

Arjuna, who was the eldest son of Kokkala, mentioned above. By her Indra had a son named Govinda, who is the last king noticed in the Sangali grant, since it was issued by him. But according to the Kharepatan grant, Govinda was the younger brother of a prince named Amoghavarsa.¹ The immediate successor of Indra, therefore, was Amoghavarsa, and after him his younger brother Govinda came to the throne. And this is confirmed by the Karda plates also. Amoghavarsa and Govinda are there meant to be mentioned as the two sons of Ambā, who is the same as the Vijāmbā of the Sangali plate. But in the text of the grant Govinda and Ambā form one compound, so that the translators of the grant call the lady Govindāmbā, which certainly is an unique or an absurd name. Thus they drop king Govinda altogether.² But the Wardha grant is explicit on the point. From it we learn that Amoghavarsa was the elder brother of Govinda, but that he died immediately after his father, as if "out of love for him", and then Govinda came to the throne. The Sangali grant of Govinda IV, as he must be called, does not mention Amoghavarsa by name; but states that "though Govinda had the power, he did not act with any reprehensible cruelty towards his elder brother, and did not render himself infamous by incest, or assume the nature of a devil by casting aside considerations of impurity, but became Sāhasāṅka by his matchless enterprise and liberty." What this statement exactly means it is difficult to say. But probably Govinda was believed to have encompassed his brother's death, and the other accusations referred to were whispered against him; and this is intended as a defence.

1 Dr. Fleet in his genealogical table at p. 109, Vol. XI, Ind. Ant., speaks of Govinda's brother as unnamed. But he is named Amoghavarsa in the Kharepatan grant, and also in that of Karda, if properly understood.

2 The 14th stanza, the latter part of which I have construed as in the text, is : चेद्यि पातुलशंकरगणात्मजायामधूजगनुङ्गात् । श्रीमानमोघवर्सं गांधिन्दाम्पामधानायां ॥ Now the first line of this is, as it stands, out of place and must contain some mistakes. For, (1) it contains, in substance, a repetition of what we have in the first line of stanza 12, and (2) if it is read here as it is, we shall have to make Ambā a wife of Jagattunga along with Lakṣmī, who has been represented as his wife in stanza 12, and understand her to be Lakṣmī's sister, the father of both being Śatikaraganya. But Ambā or Vijāmbā is in

The Kharepatan and Wardha grants agree in representing Govinda as a prince addicted to sensual pleasures. The former says that he was "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and was always surrounded by crowds of beautiful women," and the latter, that he was "the source of the sportive pleasures of Love, his mind was enchain'd by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and his health being undermined, he met with an untimely death." The words used have double senses from which it would appear that the affairs of the state also fell into confusion and hastened his destruction. But the Sangali grant which was issued by him has of course nothing but praise for him. Govinda's other names were Prabhūtavarsa and Suvarnavarsa (raining gold) and probably Sahasrāṅka also. The grant was issued in Śaka 855, or A. D. 933, in the Vijaya¹ year of the cycle, while he was at his capital Mānya-

the Sangali grant clearly spoken of as the daughter of Āṅgañadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the brother of Raṇavighraha, the father of Lakṣmī; that is, Ambā was the daughter of Lakṣmī's first cousin. She is also distinctly represented as the wife of Indra and the mother of Govinda IV. Again, if we take the lines as they are, the result will be that the Karda grant makes no mention of Indra's wife Vijāmbā and of his sons Amoghavarsa and Govinda IV, the latter of whom reigned, as we shall see, for at least fifteen years. Such an omission is not likely. Then, again, the Sangali grant makes no allusion whatever to Jagattuṅga's marriage with a lady of the name of Govindāmbā. And the second line शीमानमोष्टवर्षी गोषिन्द्राम्बाभिधानायाम् looks as if the intention of the writer of it was to set forth the names of the two sons of Indra, Amoghavarsa and of their mother Ambā or Vijāmbā. And it seems to me that the following stanza, in which the liberality of a monarch has been praised refers to Govinda IV, who, as noticed in the text below, was called Suvarṇavarsa by people because he "rained down gold." The name of the prince, therefore, must occur in the verse immediately previous. The first line must, it is clear to me, have crept in through mistake. If it were not read here, the second would be applicable to the king mentioned immediately before, i.e., Indra, and the whole would be consistent with the information derived from the Sangali grant. The emendation I make in the second line is to read न्द्रि for न्दा and then Ambā would be released from her incongruous association with Govinda, and the whole would be consistent and intelligible. There must be other mistakes also in the Karda grant. Very probably a verse or two are omitted here, as also after the next stanza, where Kṛṣṇarāja is abruptly introduced and spoken of parenthetically.

¹ The current Śaka year was 856.

khēta. Govinda IV was on the throne in Śaka 841, as appears from an Inscription published by Dr. Fleet, in which under the name of Prabhūtavarṣa he is represented as the reigning sovereign.¹ The Inscription, however, is dated 840 Śaka; but from the cyclic year Pramāthin, which is also given, it must be understood that the year meant is 841 Śaka. It will appear from this that Indra or Nityavarṣa, who succeeded his grandfather in Śaka 836, had a very short reign, and his eldest son, Amoghavarsa, could have been on the throne only for a few months. Govinda IV, like Amoghavarsa I, was at war with the Cālukyas of Vengi.² Another Inscription represents Govinda IV as the reigning monarch in Śaka 851.³

From the Kharepatan plates it appears that Govinda IV was succeeded by his paternal uncle Baddiga, the second son of Jagattunga. He is represented to have been a virtuous prince, serene like a sage. He was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇarāja, and after his death his younger brother Khotīka became king. The Karda grant is somewhat confusing here, but when properly understood it is perfectly consistent with that of Kharepatan. It states: "When the elder brother Kṛṣṇarājadeva went to heaven, Khotīgadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarsa on Kandakadevi, the daughter of Yuvarāja, became king."⁴ Here the expression "elder brother" must be taken as related to Khotīgadeva and not to the preceding king,⁵ whoever he may have been.

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 222. Dr. Fleet however identifies this Prabhūtavarṣa with Jagattunga the son of Akālavarsa or Kṛṣṇa II and father of Nityavarṣa. But as we have seen, Nityavarṣa was on the throne in Śaka 836 and 838, wherefore his father could not have been the reigning prince in Śaka 840 or 841. Besides, as I have shown, Jagattunga did not ascend the throne at all.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 249, and my note on Professor Peterson's Report on MSS for 1883-84, p. 48.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 249.

4 ऐन्द्रपदानिंगीषयेव स्वर्गमधिस्थेऽन्येष्टे भ्रातरि श्रीमत्कृष्णराजदेवे
युवराजदेवदुहिनरि कन्दकदेव्यामसोपवर्षट्पा-
ज्ञानः खोद्विगदेशो नृपनिरभ्रद्रभृशनविल्यानः ॥ १६ ॥

5 For, the clause containing that expression is dependent on the principal sentence, which is in the next or 16th stanza, and the subject of which is Khotīgadeva. See the passage in the last note.

Khoṭika therefore was even according to the Karda grant, the younger brother of Kṛṣṇarāja. But he is represented to have been the son of Amoghavarṣa, while Kṛṣṇarāja is spoken of in the Kharepatan plates as the son of Baddiga. In an Inscription at Salotgi, Kṛṣṇarāja, the son of Amoghavarṣa, is represented to have been reigning at Mānyakhetā in 867 Śaka,¹ that is, twelve years after the Sangali grant of Govinda IV was issued. He must have been the same prince as that mentioned in the grants we have been examining. For the Kṛṣṇa of these was the second king after Govinda IV. His father Baddiga, who was Govinda's uncle, must have been an old man when he succeeded, and consequently must have reigned for a very short time. Hence his son Kṛṣṇa came to be king within twelve years after Govinda's grant; and there is no other Kṛṣṇa mentioned in the grants who is likely to have been on the throne in 867 Śaka. If, then, the Kṛṣṇa of the grants is the same as the Kṛṣṇa of the Salotgi Inscription here we have evidence that his father's name was Amoghavarṣa; so that the Baddiga of the Kharepatan plates was the same as the Amoghavarṣa of the Karda plates. Kṛṣṇarāja and Khoṭika were thus brothers, and it would appear from the wording of the statement in the Karda plates that they were the sons of the same father but of different mothers.²

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. I, p. 205 f. The cyclic year given is Plavaṅga, which followed next after Śaka 869 and the current year corresponding to which was 870. According to another system, which however was rarely used in Southern India, it was Plavaṅga in a part of the year 867 Śaka expired.

² Dr. Fleet, following Mr. Wathen's translation, makes Kṛṣṇa, whom he calls Kṛṣṇa III, the elder brother of Amoghavarṣa and thus a son of Jagattuṅga. But in the Kharepatan grant he is distinctly represented as the son of Baddiga who was the son of Jagattuṅga, and in the Wardha plates, as the son of Amoghavarṣa, the son of Jagattuṅga, and was thus a grandson of Jagattuṅga. He is also represented as Khoṭika's elder brother. I have shown in the text that the expression "elder brother", occurring in the Karda grant, should by the rules of construction be taken as referring to Khoṭīga and in this way that grant becomes perfectly consistent with that of Kharepatan. The Amoghavarṣa who was the son of Jagattuṅga is that spoken of in the sixteenth stanza of the Karda grant, and was different from the one mentioned in the fourteenth, who was the son of Indra and nephew of that Amoghavarṣa, as I have shown above. Dr. Fleet brings in another Kṛṣṇa and makes him the younger brother of Khoṭika, and identifies him with Nirupama (see the text below) and with

And these points have been placed beyond the possibility of doubt by the Wardha grant. After Govinda's death, we are told, the feudatory chiefs entreated Amoghavarṣa the son of Jagattunga, who was "first among the wise" and the "best of serene sages", to assume the reins of power. He was assisted in the government by his son Kṛṣṇa, who, though but a crown-prince, wielded very great

the Kṛṣṇa whose dates range from Śaka 867 to 878. What his authority is I do not know. But the Kharepatan grant mentions one Kṛṣṇa only, the elder brother of Khoṭika and son of Baddiga. The Karda also mentions one only, and as to his relation with the other princes, I have shown that that grant agrees with the Kharepatan plates. The Kṛṣṇa whose dates range from 867 to 878 is to be identified with the elder brother of Khoṭika and is not to be considered a different prince unalluded to in the grants. Nirupama, the younger brother of Khoṭika, is not and cannot have been this Kṛṣṇa, because his elder brother and the elder brother of Khoṭiga was called Kṛṣṇa, and he too could not have been called by the same name. Nirupama does not appear to have been a reigning prince, for in the Karda plates he is only parenthetically introduced as the father of Kakka, who was a reigning prince; and in the Kharepatan grant he is not mentioned at all by name, but Kakka is said to be the son of the brother of Khoṭika. Kṛṣṇa, on the other hand, was on the throne from 867 to 878 Śaka according to the stone Inscriptions. Again if Khoṭika was the elder brother of this Nirupama-Kṛṣṇa it is impossible that he should be reigning in 893 Śaka, while Kṛṣṇa should be on the throne from 867 to 878 Śaka, that is, before his elder brother. Kṛṣṇa, therefore, was the elder of the two as stated in the Kharepatan grant, and Khoṭika the younger. Dr. Fleet, however, being under the belief that this last was the elder brother, gives the following explanation of the discrepancy in the dates:—"Koṭṭiga or Khoṭṭiga left no issue, and this explains why the date of his Inscription now published is considerably later than the dates obtained for Kṛṣṇa IV, viz., there being no probability of Koṭṭiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Kṛṣṇa IV. was joined with him in the government and then the latter's son Kakka III."—(Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 255). This supposition is not supported by any circumstance; on the contrary it is utterly disconcerted by the Inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa which represent him to be the "Supreme king of great kings," (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 258), and to have been reigning at the time at Mānyakheṭa and governing the kingdom (Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 210). Otherwise, they would have spoken of him as Yuvarāja. Thus there were not two Kṛṣṇas but only one. He was the son of Baddiga or Amoghavarṣa, not his brother. His earliest date is that of the Wardha grant, i. e., 862 Śaka and the latest 881 that of the Yaśastilaka. He was the same monarch as that spoken of in the Salotgi and other stone Inscriptions bearing the dates 867, 873 and 878 Śaka. Khoṭiga was his younger brother, and Nirupama the youngest;

power. The enemies who transgressed his commands were punished ; he put to death Dantiga and Bappuka who had grown insolent. He thoroughly subdued the Gāṅga prince ; and planted what appears to be a colony of the Āryas in his dominions. Hearing of the ease with which he captured the strongholds in the South, the Gūrjara prince, who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kālāñjara and Cītrakūṭa in the North, had to give up the enterprize. All feudatory chiefs between the eastern and the western oceans and between the Himālaya and Simhala (Ceylon) paid obeisance to him. After he had thus rendered the power of his family firm, his father died, and he ascended the throne. The Wardha plates announce the grant of a village to the north-west of Nagpur near the modern Mohagaon made by Kṛṣṇarāja, who is also called Akālavarsa, in the name of his brother Jagattunga to a Brahman of the Kānva school of the white Yajurveda on the 5th of the dark half of Vaisākha in Śaka 862, corresponding to 940 A. D., the cyclic year being Śārvati. This prince is called Sri-Vallabha also in the grant.

Kṛṣṇarāja was the reigning monarch in Śaka 873 and 878.¹ At the end of a Jaina work called Yaśastilaka by Somadeva it is stated that it was finished on the 13th of Caitra when 881 years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Siddhārthin, during the reign of a feudatory of Kṛṣṇarājadeva. Kṛṣṇarājadeva is spoken of as reigning gloriously, having subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Simhala, the Colas, the Ceras and others.² Khotika, his brother, was on the throne in Śaka 893 Prajāpati.³

Khotika was succeeded, according to the Kharepatan grant, by Kakkala, the son of his brother. The name of this brother was Nirupama, according to the Karda grant. Kakkala is said to have been a brave soldier ; but he was conquered in battle by Tailapa, who belonged to the Cālukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Deccan passed from the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas once more into those of the Cālukyas. The Karda grant, which was made in the reign of Kakkala, is dated Śaka 894 or A. D. 972. And another Inscription represents him as being on the throne in 896

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 257, and Vol. XI, p. 109.

² Prof. Peterson's Report, loc. cit.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 255.

current,¹ the cyclic year being Śrīmukha. But in this year or Saka 895 past Tailapa attained sovereign powers.² The Rästrakütas were thus supreme masters of this country from about A. D. 748 to A. D. 973, that is, for nearly two hundred and twenty-five years.

That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt. The rock-cut temples at Elura still attest their power and magnificence. Under them the worship of the Puränic gods rose into much greater importance than before. The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return. Instead of them, we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Śiva and Visnu. Several of the grants of these Rästraküta princes praise their bounty, and mention their having constructed temples. Still, as the Kanheri Inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarsa I show, Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance. Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Cälukya period, or even made greater progress. Amoghavarsa was, as we have seen, a great patron of it, and was perhaps a convert to it; and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The form of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect. A good many of the extant Digambara works were, as we have seen, composed during this period.

It is remarkable that, unlike the grants of the early Cälukya princes, those of the Rästrakütas contain accounts in verse of the ancestors of the grantor, and most of the verses are of the nature of those we find in the ordinary artificial poems in Sanskrit literature, possessing the same merits and faults. The Rästrakütas, therefore, must have been patrons of learning, and probably had poets in their service. One of the three Krsnas belonging to

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 270.

² The cyclic year mentioned along with the first of these two dates is Āṅgas, the current Saka year corresponding to which was 895.

the dynasty is the hero of an artificial poem by Halāyudha entitled the Kavirahasya, the purpose of which is to explain the distinction as regards sense and conjugational peculiarities between roots having the same external form. He is spoken of as the paramount sovereign of Dakṣināpatha.¹ Prof. Westergaard, however, thought him to be the Kṛṣṇarāja of the Vijayanagara dynasty who reigned in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. But in the Kavirahasya he is spoken of in one place as "having sprung from the Rāstrakūṭa race,"² and is in another called "the ornament of the lunar race,"³ which description is of course not applicable to the Vijayanagara prince.

Arabic travellers of the tenth century mention a powerful dynasty of the name of Balharās who ruled at a place called Mankir. The name of the city would show that the Rāstrakūṭas, whose capital was Mānyakheta or Mankhed, were meant. But Balharā, the name of the dynasty, has not been identified with any that might be considered to be applicable to the Rāstrakūṭas. But to me the identification does not appear difficult. The Rāstrakūṭas appear clearly to have assumed the title of Vallabha which was used by their predecessors the Cālukyas. We have seen that Govinda II is called Vallabha in two grants, Amoghavarṣa I in a third, and Kṛṣṇa III in a fourth. In an Inscription on a stone tablet at Laksmeśvara, Govinda III is called Śri-Vallabha,⁴ while

1 अस्यगस्यमुनिज्योत्सापवित्रे कृष्णापथे ।
कृष्णराज इति ख्याते राजा साम्राज्यदीक्षितः ॥

"In Dakṣināpatha, which is rendered holy by the light of the sage Agastya, there was a king of the name of Kṛṣṇarāja who was crowned as a paramount sovereign."

2 नौलयत्यतुले शक्त्या यो भारं भुवेश्वरः ।
फस्ने तुलयनि स्थाभा गङ्गाकूलोद्धवम् ॥

"Who will equal in strength that lord of the world sprung from the Rāstrakūṭa race, who by his power bears an incomparable burden."

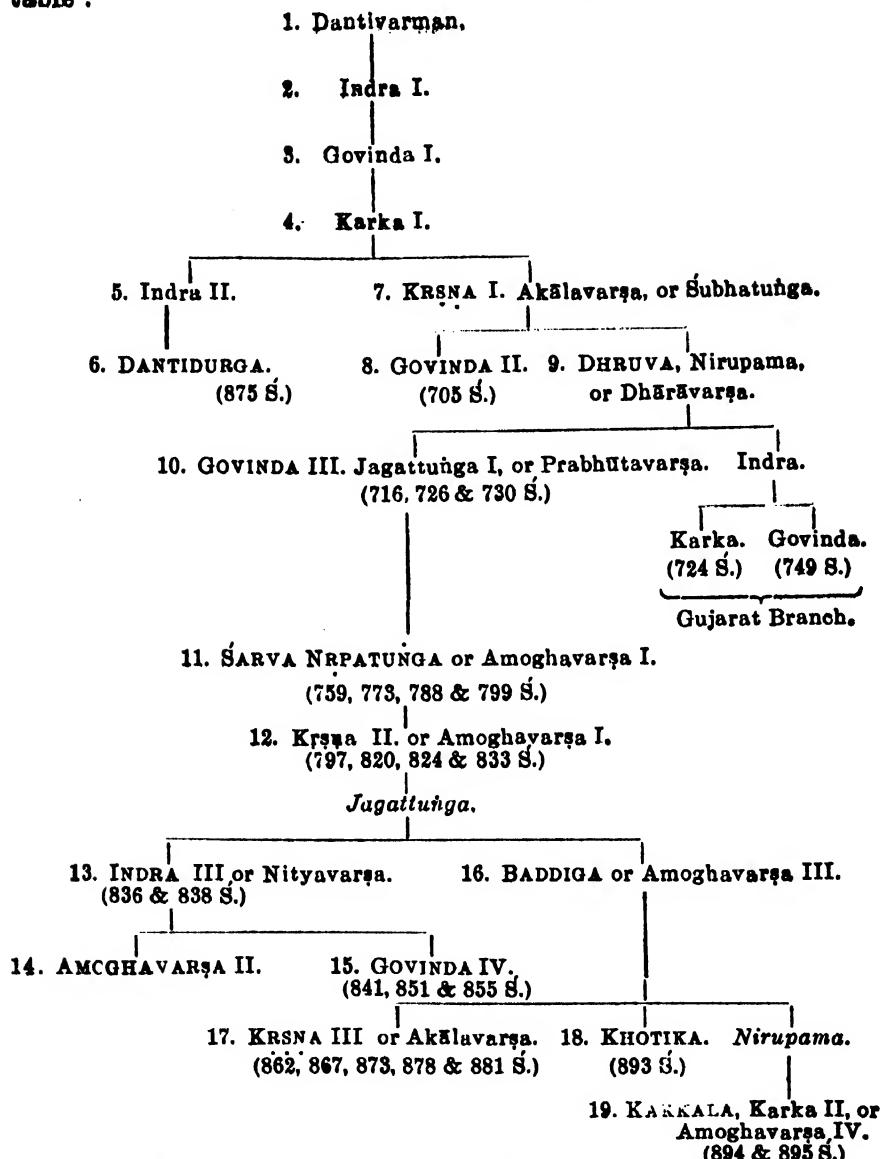
3 सोमं सुनोनि यज्ञेषु सोमवंशविभूषणः ।

"That ornament of the lunar race extracts the juice of Soma in sacrifices."

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 156.

in the Radhanpur plates he is spoken of as Vallabha-narendra. In the Sangali and Karda grants also the reigning king is styled Vallabha-narendra, while in other Inscriptions we find the title Pr̥thivivallabha alone used. Now Vallabha-narendra means "the king Vallabha," and is the same as Vallabharāja, the words rāja(n) and narendra both denoting "a king". Vallabha-rāja should, by the rules of Prakrit or vernacular pronunciation, become Vallabha-rāy, Ballaha-rāy, or Balha-rāy. This last is the same as the Balharā of the Arabs.

The genealogy of the Rastrakutes is shown in the following table :—



- (a) The names of those who were supreme sovereigns in the Deccan are printed in capitals.
- (b) The names of those who were kings before the attainment of supreme power are printed in small letters.
- (c) The order of succession is represented by the numbers.
- (d) The names of those who did not ascend the throne at all, have been printed in Italics.

SECTION XII.

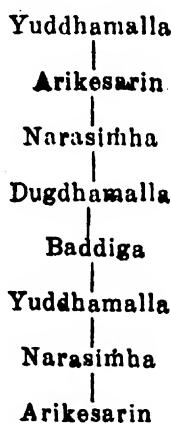
THE LATER CALUKYAS.

We left the history of the kings of the Cālukya race at Kirtivarman II. Between him and Tailapa—who wrested the supreme sovereignty of the Deccan from Kakkala, the last of the Rāstrakūta kings—the Miraj copperplate grant and the Yevur tablet place six kings. Kirtivarman ascended the throne in Śaka 669 and was reigning in 679, before which time he had been reduced to the condition of a minor chief; and Tailapa regained sovereign power in 895 Śaka.¹ We have thus seven princes only between 669 and 895, i. e., for 226 years. This gives an average reign of 32 years to each, which is far too much.

This was the darkest period in the history of the Cālukya dynasty, and probably no correct account of the succession was kept. Where the dynasty reigned and what the extent of its power was, cannot be satisfactorily determined in the absence of the usual contemporary evidence, viz., Inscriptions. There must have been several branches of the Cālukya family, and it is even a question whether Tailapa sprang from the main branch. I am inclined to believe that he belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch, and that the main branch became extinct. For, the princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hārīti, and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Mānavya race; while these later Cālukyas traced their pedigree to Satyāśraya only, and those two names do not occur in their Inscriptions except in the Miraj grant and its copies, where an effort is made to begin at the beginning. But evidently the writer of that grant had not sufficient materials at his command, since, as above stated, he places six princes only between Kirtivarman II and Tailapa. There is little question that there was no continuity of tradition. The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c., which the later Cālukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them.

In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 735 found in Mysore a Cālukya prince of the name of Vimalāditya, the son of Yaśovarman and grandson of Balavarman, is mentioned. To ward off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya, a village was granted to a Jaina sage on behalf of a Jaina temple by Govinda III, the Rāstrakūṭa king, at the request of Cākirāja of the Ganga family, the maternal uncle of Vimalāditya.¹ These three Cālukya names do not occur in the usual genealogy of the family. This therefore appears to have been an independent branch.

Another independent off-shoot ruled over a province called Jola, a portion of which at least is included in the modern district of Dharwar. In the Kanaresē Bhārata written in 863 Śaka by a Jaina poet of the name of Pampa, Arikesarin belonging to this branch, is mentioned by the poet as his patron. The genealogy there given is as follows:—



At the end of a work entitled Saṅkṣepaśārīraka, the author Sarvajñātman, the pupil of Sureśvara, who himself was a pupil of the great Saṅkarācārya, states that he composed it while "the prosperous king of the Kṣatriya race, the Āditya (sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth."² This description would apply with propriety to

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 2.

such a king as Adityavarman, Vikramāditya I, Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya, or Vikramāditya II of the early Cālukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were "Adityas of the race of Manu." For the Mānavya race to which they belonged may be understood as "the race of Manu." But Śaṅkarācārya is said to have lived between Śaka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while Vikramāditya II, the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 Śaka. Supposing then that the date assigned to Śaṅkarācārya is correct, the king meant by Sarvajñātman must be one of those placed by the Miraj grant between Kirtivarman II and Tailapa. He may be Vikramāditya, the third prince after Kirtivarman II,¹ but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, Śaṅkarācārya's date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the five princes of the early Cālukya dynasty mentioned above.

Tailapa seems to have carried his arms into the country of the Colas² and humbled the king of Cedi.³ He despatched an expedition into Gujarat, under a general of the name of Bārapa, against Mūlarāja, the founder of the Cālukya dynasty of Anahilapattana, who for some time was hard pressed; but according to the Gujarat chroniclers the general was eventually defeated with slaughter.⁴ Someśvara, the author of the Kirtikaumudi, speaks of Bārapa as the general of the Lāṭa, from which it would appear that Tailapa was in possession of that country.⁵

Tailapa invaded Malwa also, which at this time was governed by Muñja, the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja. Muñja, instead of strictly confining himself to the defensive, took the offensive, and, against the counsels of his aged minister Rudrāditya, crossed the

चक्रे सज्जनबुद्धिवर्धनमिदं राजन्यवैश्ये नृपे
भीमत्यहनशासने मनुकूलाद्वित्ये भ्रुवं शासनि ॥

The Deveśvara spoken of in the first line is Sureśvara, the pupil of Śaṅkarācārya.

¹ See the genealogy at the end of this Section.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 17.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 15..

⁴ Rāsa Māla, Chap. IV, p. 38, new Ed.

⁵ Kirtikaumudi, II. 3.

Godāvari with a large army. He was encountered by Tailapa, who inflicted a crushing defeat on him and took him prisoner. At first Muñja was treated with consideration by his captor; but an attempt to effect his escape having been detected, he was subjected to indignities, made to beg from door to door, and finally beheaded.¹ This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's Inscriptions.² Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years.³ One of his feudatory chiefs granted a piece of land to a Jaina temple that he had constructed at Saundatti⁴ in the Belgaum district, in the year 902 Śaka or A. D. 980.

Tailapa married Jakabbā, the daughter of the last Ratnadeva king, and had by her two sons, whose names were Satyārāya and Dasavarman.⁵ The former succeeded him in 919 Śaka or A. D. 997. Nothing particular is mentioned of him in any of the Inscriptions. The Kharapatan grant, which we have so often referred to, was issued in his reign in Śaka 930 by a dependent chief of the Śilāhāra family which ruled over southern Konkan.⁶

Satyārāya died without issue and was succeeded by Vikramāditya I,⁷ the son of his younger brother Dasavarman by his wife Bhagavati. The earliest of his Inscriptions is dated Śaka 930, which is also the latest date of his predecessor. He therefore succeeded to the throne in that year, i. e., in 1008 A. D., and appears to have reigned for only a short time.⁸

He was succeeded by his brother Jayasimha or Jagadekamalla, who in an Inscription dated 941 Śaka, i. e., 1019 A. D., is represented to have put to flight or broken the confederacy of Malwa and is styled "the moon of the

1. Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha and Bhojcaritra by Rajavishnu.

2. JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 12, and Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 166.

3. JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 4.

4. JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 210.

5. Miraj plates, JRAS, Vol. III, p. 262, st. 30-35; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, pp. 15-17.

6. JBBRAS, Vol. I, p. 209.

7. I call him Vikramāditya I, and not Vikramāditya V, as otherwise, because I would keep the two dynasties distinct for the reasons given in the text above. I shall call Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramāditya II, and so on.

8. JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 4.

lotus which was King Bhoja," that is, one who humbled him.¹ He is also spoken of as having beaten the Colas and the Ceras. The Miraj grant was executed by him five years later, i. e., in Śaka 946, when "after having subdued the powerful Cola, the lord of the Dramila country, and taken away everything belonging to the ruler of the seven Konkans, he had encamped with his victorious army at Kolhapur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish them."² The latest date of this prince is Śaka 962.³

Jayasimha ceased to reign in 962 Śaka, or 1040 A. D., and was succeeded by his son Somesvara I, who assumed the titles of Āhavamalla and Trailokyamalla. As usual with the Cālukya princes, the first enemy he had to turn his arms against was the king of the Colas.⁴ He is then represented by Bilhaṇa to have marched against Dhārā, the capital of Bhoja, and captured it. Bhoja was compelled to abandon the city. These hostilities with the king of Malwa seem to have been inherited by this king and his predecessor from Tailapa, who had caused Muñja to be put to death. Bhoja was but a boy when this event took place. It is narrated in the Bhojacaritra that after he had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a dramatic play representing the fate of Muñja was acted before him, and thereupon he resolved to avenge his uncle's death. He invaded the Deccan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected by him, and finally executed him.⁵ Bhoja, who ruled over Malwa for about fifty-three years, was but a minor when Muñja died.

Muñja was on the throne in 994 A. D.,⁶ while Tailapa died or ceased to reign in 997 A. D. He must therefore have been slain

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 17.

² Loc. cit. Dramila is another form of Dravidā. There is some mistake here in the original. The letters are यं चंद्रमिलाधिपति॑. Dr. Fleet takes यं as one word and चंद्रमिलाधिपति॑ as another, but यं cannot be construed and Chandramila is unknown. The first word must be यंचं, a mistake for some such word as नयचं, "down," "below," and the second Dramilādhipatim.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 164.

⁴ Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅka Caritra, I, 90; JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 13.

⁵ Bhojacaritra, I, 50-56.

⁶ My Report on the search for MSS. during 1882-83, p. 45.

¹⁵ [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]

by the latter between 994 and 997 A. D., and Tailapa did not survive Muñja for a sufficiently long time to allow of Bhoja's attaining majority and fighting with him. Hence Bhoja could not have wreaked vengeance on Tailapa. But the wars of Jayasimha and Somesvara I with him show that the tradition recorded in the Bhojacaritra must have been correct to this extent, that to avenge his uncle's death the king of Malwa formed a confederacy with some neighbouring princes and attacked the dominions of the Cālukyas. Perhaps he captured Vikramāditya I, of whom we know so little, and put him to death. It was probable on that account that Jayasimha took arms against him and broke the confederacy, as represented in the Inscription dated 941 Śaka.

After some time Somesvara attacked Cedi or Dāhala, the capital of which was Tevur or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karna.¹ King Bhoja must have died before this event; for, just about the time of his death, Karna had formed a confederacy with Bhīmadeva I of Gujarat with a view to attack Malwa from two sides, and sacked Dhārā after his death.² Bilhana next represents the Cālukya prince to have marched against the countries on the sea-coast, probably the western. These he conquered, and having erected a triumphal column there, proceeded by the sea-shore to the extremity of the peninsula. In his progress through that part of the country the king of the Dravidas or Colas attacked him, but was defeated. Somesvara thereupon proceeded to his capital Kāñcī, which he captured, and the Cola king had to flee away to save his life.³ Ahavamalla's operations against Bhoja and the Colas are alluded to in an Inscription, and he is also represented to have fought with the king of Kānyakubja or Kanoj and compelled him to betake himself to the caverns of mountains for safety.⁴

Ahavamalla or Somesvara founded the city of Kalyāna and made it his capital. Bilhana mentions the fact,⁵ and the name of

¹ Bilhana's Vikr., I, 102-103.

² Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha; Rāsa Māla, VI, p. 69, new Ed.

³ Vikr. Ca., I, 107-116.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 19.

⁵ Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., II, 1. The natural construction appears to be to take ग्राम्य "most excellent" as an attributive adjective, not predicative, and take नाम as the predicate. The sense then will be: "He made (founded) the most excellent city named Kalyāna."

the city does not occur in any Inscription of a date earlier than 975 Śaka, when Someśvara was reigning.¹ In the course of time three sons were born to Āhavamalla, the eldest of whom was named Someśvara, the second Vikramāditya, and the third Jayasimha.² The ablest of these was Vikramāditya, and Āhavamalla intended to raise him to the dignity of Yuvarāja or prince-regent in supersession of his elder brother; but Bilhaṇa tells us he declined the honour.³ Someśvara therefore was installed as prince-regent, but the real work was done by Vikramāditya, who was invariably employed by his father to fight his battles.

The first thing he did was to march as usual against the Colas, whose king was defeated and deprived of his kingdom. The king of Malwa, who had been driven from his country by somebody whose name is not given, sought Vikramāditya's assistance. That prince put down his enemies and placed him on the throne.⁴ Vikramāditya is said to have invaded the Gauda country or Bengal and Kāmarūpa or Assam.⁵ In the more detailed description of his career of conquest, Bilhaṇa tells us, he first marched against the Keralas, whom he conquered.⁶ The king of Simhala submitted to him at his approach;⁷ then he took the city of Gaṅgakunda and proceeded to the country of the Colas, the prince of which fled and took refuge in the caverns of mountains. Vikramāditya then entered Kāñci and plundered it; and thence directed his march to Vengi, and to Cakrakota.⁸

While Vikramāditya was so employed, Āhavamalla was seized with a strong fever. When he observed his end approaching, he

1 See Dr. Fleet's remarks on the point, Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 105. The word Kalyāṇa occurring in the Salotgi Inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 210) is also, like that in Kīrtivarman's grant, to be taken in the sense of "good," "benefit," "beneficial," and not as the name of a town as Mr. Pandit and Dr. Bühler have done.

2 Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ca., II, 57-58 and 85; III. 1, 25.

3 Ib., III, 26-32, 35-41, and 48-54.

4 Ib., III, 55-67.

5 Ib., III, 74.

6 Ib., IV, 2, 18.

7 Ib., IV, 20.

8 Ib., IV, 21-30. For the situation of Vengi, see supra, Section X,

caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tungabhadra. He bathed in the waters of the river and gave away a great deal of gold in charity. Then entering the river again, he proceeded up-til the water reached his neck, and, in the din caused by the waves and a number of musical instruments, drowned himself.¹ This event must have taken place in Śaka 991, corresponding to 1069 A.D.² Ahavamalla, according to Bilhana, performed a great many sacrifices and was very liberal to men of learning.³ On account of his virtues, poets made him the hero of the tales, poems, and dramas composed by them.⁴

Someśvara, the eldest son of Ahavamalla, having been prince-regent, ascended the throne as a matter of course, and assumed the title of Bhuvanaikamalla. Vikramāditya received intelligence of his father's death while returning from Vengi. He hastened to the capital and was received with affection by his brother. Vikramāditya made over to him all the spoils he had won in the course of his conquests, and for some time there was a good understanding between the brothers. But Someśvara was a weak and tyrannical prince. He oppressed his subjects and lost their affection. He would not be guided by the counsels of wiser and better men; and the kingdom of Kuntala lost a good deal of its importance and influence. Vikramāditya, unable to control his brother and suspecting his intentions towards himself, left the capital with his younger brother Jayasimha and a large army.⁵ Someśvara II sent his forces after him, but they were defeated by Vikramāditya with great slaughter.⁶

The prince then proceeded to the banks of the Tunga-bhadra, and, after some time, directed his march towards the country of the Colas. On the way he stopped at Banavāsi, where he enjoyed himself for some time, and then started for the country of Malaya. Jayakesī is repre-

1 Bilhana's Vikr. Ca. IV, 46-68. This mode of death is known by the name of Jalasamādhi.

2 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 4.

3 Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., I, 97-99; IV, 52.

4 Ib., I, 88.

5 Ib., IV, 88-119. V, I.

6 Ib., V, 5-8.

sented to have submitted to Vikramāditya and " given him more wealth than he desired, and thus to have rendered lasting the smile on the face of the Konkan ladies."¹ Jayakesī appears thus to have been king of the Konkan, and was the same as the first king of that name, who, in the copper-plate grants of the Goa Kadambas, published by Dr. Fleet, is spoken of as having entered into an alliance with the Cālukya and Cola kings, and made Gopakapattana or Goa his capital. Vikramāditya or Tribhuvanamalla in after-life gave his daughter Mallalamahādevī in marriage to his grandson, who also was called Jayakesī ; and this circumstance is mentioned in all the three grants, since the connection with the paramount sovereign of the Deccan raised the dignity of the family.²

The king of the Alupas³ also rendered his obeisance to the Cālukya prince, who showed him marks of favour. He then subjugated the Keralas or people of Malabar, and turned towards the country of the Dravidas or Colas. Being informed of this, the Cola prince sent a herald with proposals of peace, offering his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya. These were accepted by the latter, and at the solicitations of the Cola he fell back on the Tungabhadrā, where the prince arrived with his daughter and concluded an alliance.⁴

Some time after, the king of the Colas died and there was a revolution in the kingdom. When the Cālukya prince heard of this he immediately proceeded to Kāñci, and placing the son of his father-in-law on the throne, remained there for a month to suppress his enemies and render his position secure. A short time after his return to the Tungabhadrā, however, Rājiga, the king of Vengi, observing that the nobility of the Cola prince were disaffected, seized the opportunity, and, having deposed him, usurped the sovereignty of the country. To embarrass Vikramāditya and prevent his descent on Kāñci, Rājiga incited his brother Somesvara II to attack him from behind. Vikramāditya, however,

¹ Ib., V, 10, 18-25.

² JBBRAS, Vol. IX, pp. 242, 268, 279.

³ See supra, Section X.

⁴ Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ca., V, 26-29, 46 56, 60, 73, 79-89.

marched on, and, by the time he came in sight of the Dravida forces, Someśvara overtook him in his rear. He had a very large army, which was well equipped.¹ Bilhana, who is, of course, anxious to show his patron to be guiltless in this fratricidal war, represents him to be deeply afflicted when he saw that his brother had made common cause with his enemy, and to have endeavoured to dissuade him from the course on which he had embarked. Someśvara made a show of yielding to his brother's expostulation, seeking however in the meanwhile for a favourable opportunity to strike a decisive blow.² But Vikramāditya finally resolved to give a fight to the armies of both. Then a bloody battle ensued. Vikramāditya proved victorious, the new king of the Dravidas fled, and Someśvara was taken prisoner. The Cālukya prince then returned to the Tuṅgabhadrā, and after some hesitation dethroned Someśvara and had himself crowned king. To his younger brother Jayasimha he assigned the province of Banavāsi.³ These events took place in the cyclic year Nala, Śaka 998, or A.D. 1076.⁴

Vikramāditya II then entered Kalyāna and had a long and upon the whole a peaceful reign of fifty years.⁵ He assumed the title of Tribhuvanamalla, and is known by the names of Kalivikrama and Paramardirāya also. He abolished the Śaka era and established his own; but it fell into disuse not long after his death. Some time after his accession, he went to Karahāṭaka or Karhad and married the daughter of the Śilāhāra king who reign-

¹ Ib., VI, 7-54.

² Ib., VI, 56-61.

³ Ib., VI, 90-93, 98-99.

⁴ JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 4; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 189. The current Śaka year was 999. Dr. Fleet thinks that the festival of his Paṭṭabandha or coronation, grants on account of which are recorded as made on the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna in the Nala year, in an Inscription at Vadageri, was the annual festival. But this is a mere assumption. One would expect in such a case the word vārṣikotsava. The utsava or festival spoken of must be that which followed the ceremony. The date in this Inscription refers to the grant, and does not, in my opinion, show at all the day on which the coronation ceremony took place. All we can gather from this Inscription and that at Aralesvara is that the Nala Śatvatsara was the first year of his reign.

⁵ JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 14.

ed at the place. Her name was Candralekhā and she was a woman of rare beauty. Bilhana represents her to have held a Svayamvara where a great many kings assembled, out of whom she chose the Cālukya prince and placed the nuptial wreath round his neck. Whether the Svayamvara was real, or imagined by the poet to give himself an opportunity for the display of his poetic and descriptive powers, it is not possible to decide. Candralekhā is spoken of in the Inscriptions as Candaladevi, and many other wives of Tribhuvanamalla are mentioned besides her. The revenues of certain villages were assigned to them for their private expenses.¹

Some years after, Vikrama's brother Jayasimha, who had been appointed his viceroy at Banavāsi, began to meditate treason against him. He extorted a great deal of money from his subjects, entered into an alliance with the Dravida king and other chiefs, and even endeavoured to foment sedition and treachery among Vikramāditya's troops. When the king heard of this, he made several attempts to dissuade his brother from his evil course, but they were of no avail; and in a short time Jayasimha came with his numerous allies and his large army and encamped on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. He plundered and burned the surrounding villages and took many prisoners, and considered success so certain that he sent insulting messages to Vikrama.² The king then marched against him at the head of his forces. As he approached the river he was harassed by the enemy's skirmishers, but driving them away he encamped on the banks.³ He surveyed his brother's army and found it to be very large and strong. Then a battle ensued. At first the elephants of the enemy advanced and spread confusion in the ranks of Vikrama. All his elephants, horses, and men turned backwards; but with remarkable bravery the king rushed forward on the back of his maddened elephant, dealing heavy blows right and left. The elephants of the enemy were driven back and the king killed a great many of his soldiers. The army was defeated and Jayasimha and his followers fled away. Vikrama did not pursue the enemy, but took the elephants, horses,

¹ JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 15, and Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., VIII—XI.

² Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., XIV, 1-13, 18, 49-56.

³ Ib., XIV, 57, 70, 71.

women, and baggage left on the battle-field, and returned to his capital. After a time Jayasimha was caught skulking in a forest and brought to Vikramāditya, who, however is represented to have pardoned him.¹

In the latter part of Vikrama's reign, his dominions were invaded by a prince of the Hoysala branch of the Yādava family reigning at Dvārasainudra, the modern Halebid in Mysore; and with him were associated the kings of the Pāndya country, Goa, and Konkan. This Hoysala prince must have been Visnuvardhana, the younger brother of Ballāla and the grandson of Vinayāditya, who first brought the dynasty into prominence. For, in the Inscription of Vira Ballāla, the grandson of Visnuvardhana, at Gaddaka, Visnuvardhana is represented to have overrun the whole country between his capital and Belvola and washed his horses with the waters of the Kṛṣṇā-Venā. It is also stated that "he was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by the king Paramardideva (Vikramāditya), who said, 'Know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable.'"² Vikramāditya despatched against these enemies a dependent chief of the name of Āca or Ācagi, whose territory lay to the south. Āca, who was "a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysala, took Gove, put to flight Lakṣma in war, valorously followed after Pāndya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Konkan."³ Āca must have fought several other battles for his master; for he is represented to have made "the kings of Kalinga, Vanga, Maru, Gurjara, Mālava, Cera, and Cola (subject) to his sovereign."⁴ Vikramāditya himself had to take the field against the Cola prince, who had grown insubordinate. He was defeated and fled, and the king returned to his capital.⁵

¹ Ib., XV, 23, 41-42, 55-71, 85-87.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 300. Dr. Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus collocated:—त्रैषु असाध्यतया होश्वल्लभ अवधारये इति परमिद्वेषत्रुपते: प्रत्युपचारं यः नियुक्ते: मुहुः स्मार्यते।

³ JBBRAS, Vol. XI, p. 244. Poysala and Hoysala are one and the same word.

⁴ Ib., p. 269.

⁵ Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., XVII, 43-68.

Vikramāditya II constructed a large temple of Viṣṇu and had a tank dug in front of it. In the vicinity he founded a town which was called Vikrama pura.¹ He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that, according to Bilhana, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was very liberal and bountiful to the poor and "gave the sixteen great gifts at each holy conjuncture."² That he was a patron of learning is shown by the fact of a Kāśmirian Pandit like Bilhana, who travelled over the whole of India in quest of support, having been raised by him to the dignity of Vidyāpati or chief Pandit. Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitākṣarā, which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India, and especially in the Maratha country, as the chief authority on matters of civil and religious law, flourished in the reign of Vikramāditya and lived at Kalyāna. At the end of most Manuscripts of that work there occur three stanzas, which may be translated as follows³ :

"On the surface of the earth, there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyāna ; never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramārka seen or heard of ; and—what more ?—Vijñāneśvara, the Pandit, does not bear comparison with any other⁴ (person). May this triad which is like a celestial creeper¹ exist to the end of the Kalpa !

¹ Ib., XVII, 15, 22, 29, and JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 15.

² Bilhana's Vikr. Ca., XVII, 6, 36-37.

³ See Dr. Bühler's article on the subject in JBBRAS, Vol. IX, p. 134.

⁴ Dr. Bühler's reading of the last two lines is विज्ञनेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किं चान्यद् स्थोपमा कल्पस्य स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलिकाकल्पं तदेव बयष् । The Doctor connects कल्पस्य with किं चान्यद् and translates "nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison with the learned Vijñāneśvara." To mean "nothing else," किं चान्यद् must be किमपन्यत् ; and in this construction पण्डितो, the nominative, has no verb, अन्यत् being taken as the nominative to the verb भजते. Again, it will not do to say "nothing that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison," &c., for one-half of this Kalpa only has passed away ; the other half still remains, and what it will produce but has not yet produced, cannot be spoken of as कल्पस्यम् or "existing in the Kalpa." The only proper reading with a slight alteration is that of the Bombay lithographed

" May the Lord of wisdom² live as long as the sun and moon endure,—he who produces words which distil honey, and than which nothing is more wonderful to the learned, gives wealth exceeding their wishes to a multitude of supplicants,³ contemplates the form of the subjugator of Mura, and has conquered the enemies that are born with the body.

" May the lord Vikramāditya protect this whole earth as long as the moon and the stars endure,—he whose feet are resplendent with the lustre of the crest jewels of prostrate kings from the bridge, which is the heap of the glory of the best scion of the Raghu race, to the lord of mountains, and from the Western Ocean, the waves⁴ of which surge heavily with the nimble shoals of fishes, to the Eastern Ocean."

Though Sanskrit authors often indulge in hyperbolic expressions without sufficient basis, and as mere conventionalities, still the language and manner of these stanzas do show a really enthusiastic admiration in the mind of the writer for the city, its ruler,

edition, which he has given in a footnote and which is किञ्चान्यत्त्वेषमाप्तकल्पै। Instead of त्वं, there must be त्वा here. And this is the reading of a Manuscript of the Mitāksarā, dated Samvat 1535 and Saka 1401, purchased by me about ten years ago for the Bombay Government. The reading is to be translated as in the text.

1 Like the celestial creeper, in so far as the triad satisfies all desires.

2 Dr. Bühler reads तत्र विज्ञानवाय and construes it as a vocative. The vocative does not look natural here. The Bombay lithographed edition and my Manuscript have विज्ञानवायः the nominative. Instead of तत्र the former has तत्रा and the latter तत्र्. I have adopted this last. The author has here taken the name Vijnānesvara in its etymological sense and given to विज्ञान or "knowledge" the object तत्रव or "truth," the whole meaning "the lord of the knowledge of truth".

3 Dr. Bühler's reading here is द्वातार्थनामनिशयशुभामर्थसार्थर्थनायाः. Here अर्थनायाः cannot make any sense; it ought to be अर्थनायाः, which the lithographed edition and my Manuscript have. The latter reads the whole line thus:—द्वातार्थनामनिशयशुभामर्थसार्थर्थनायाः। There is another याः after this, which is redundant.

4 The reading of the epithet of the "Western Ocean" is corrupt in all the three. I would improve that of the lithographed edition, which is चदुलनिमिक्तोनुकूर्णर्गेन्नगात् to चदुलनिमिक्तोनुकूर्णिक्तनरकात् and of my Manuscript to तद्वात्यत्तद्वात्. The root वात् is used in connection with waves (see B. & R's Lexicon *sub voce*).

and the great Pandita, who from the fact of the liberality attributed to him appears to have enjoyed the favour of the king and perhaps held a high office. From this and from the description given by Bilhana, as well as from Vikramāditya's Inscriptions, of which we have about two hundred, it appears to be an undoubted fact that he was the greatest prince of this later Cālukya dynasty, and that during his reign the country enjoyed happiness and prosperity.

Vikramāditya II was succeeded in Śaka 1048 and in the cyclic year Parābhava (A. D. 1127) by his son Someśvara III, who assumed the title of Bhūlokamalla.¹ He had a short reign of about 11 years. He is represented to have "placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Āndhra, Dravida, Magadha, Nepāla; and to have been lauded by all learned men."² This last praise does not seem to be undeserved; for we have a work in Sanskrit written by Someśvara entitled Mānasollāsa or Abhilasitārtha-Cintāmaṇi, in which a great deal of information on a variety of subjects is given. The book is divided into five parts. In the first are given the causes which lead to the acquisition of a kingdom; in the second, those that enable one to retain it after he has acquired it; in the third, the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has rendered his power firm; in the fourth, the modes of diversion which give mental pleasure; and in the fifth, sports or amusements. Each of these consists of twenty kinds. In the first are included such virtues as shunning lies, refraining from injury to others, continence, generosity, affability, faith in the gods, feeding and supporting the poor and helpless, friends and adherents, &c. Under the second head are described what are called the seven aṅgas, i. e., the ideal king, his ministers including the priest and the astrologer, the treasury and the way of replenishing it, the army, &c. The enjoyments are—a beautiful palace, bathing, anointing, rich clothing, ornaments, &c. The diversions are—military practice, horsemanship, training elephants, wrestling, cockfights, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing, and others. The last class comprises sports in gardens and fields

¹ JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 15. The current Śaka year corresponding to Parābhava was 1049.

² JBBRAS, Vol. XI, p. 268

or on mountains and sandbanks, games, enjoyment of the company of women, &c. In connection with these subjects there are few branches of learning or art in Sanskrit the main principles of which are not stated. We have polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants and dogs, &c. The king does appear to have been a man of learning, and it was on that account that he received the title of Sarvajñabhūpa¹ or the "all-knowing king." In the Mārasollāsa, in connection with the preparation of an almanac, the day used as an epoch from which to calculate the positions of certain heavenly bodies is stated as "Friday, the month of Caitra, one thousand and fifty-one years of Śaka having elapsed, the year of the cycle being Saumya, while the king Soma, the ornament of the Cālukya [race], who was the very sage Agastya to the ocean of the essences of all the Śāstras,² and whose enemies were destroyed, was ruling over the sea-begirt earth."³ This work, therefore, was written in the fourth year after his accession.

Someśvara III or Bhūlokamalla was succeeded in the cyclic year Kālayukti,⁴ Śaka 1060 or A. D. 1138, by his son Jagadeka-

1 Ib., pp. 259 and 268.

2 That is, he drank the essences of all the Śāstras or sciences as the sage Agastya drank the whole ocean.

3

एकपञ्चाशादधिके सहस्रे शरवौ गते ।
शकस्य सोमभूपाले सति चातुर्थमण्डने ॥
समुद्रसनामुवौं शासति क्षतिद्विषि ।
सर्वशास्त्रार्थसर्वस्वपायेधिकलशोद्धवे ॥
सौषपंचत्सरे चैष्रमासवौ शुक्रवासरे ।
परिशोधिनसिद्धान्तलब्ध्या शुर्पृष्ठका इमे ॥

4 The Siddhārthin Samvatsara is mentioned as the second of his reign, wherefore the preceding Kālayukti (Śaka 1060) must have been the first. The current Śaka year was 1061. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 141. There are several Inscriptions in which the name of Jagadekamalla occurs, but it is difficult to make out whether they belong to the reign of this king or Jayasimha-Jagadekamalla, since the cyclic year only is given in them. Sometimes the year of the king's reign is also given, but that even does not help in settling the point. For Jayasimha began to reign in Śaka 940, just 120 years or two complete cycles of 60 years each before Jagadekamalla II, and consequently the cyclic years and the years of their reigns are the same.

malla. Nothing particular is recorded of him. He reigned for 12 years and was succeeded by his brother Tailapa II, Nurmādi Taila or Trailokyamalla, in Śaka 1072, Pramoda Samvatsara.¹

During these two reigns the power of the Cālukyas rapidly declined, and some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief named Vijjala or Vijjana of the Kalacuri race, who held the office of Dandanāyaka or minister of war under Tailapa. He conceived the design of usurping the throne of his master, and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful and semi-independent chiefs. Vijayārka, the Mahāmandaleśvara of Kolhapur, was one of those who assisted him,² and Prolarāja of the Kākateya dynasty of Tailangana, who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, did so probably to advance the same cause.³ He kept his master Tailapa under complete subjection till Śaka 1079 or A.D. 1157, when Tailapa left Kalyāna and fled to Annigeri in the Dharwar district, which now became the capital of his kingdom, greatly reduced in extent. There is an Inscription dated Śaka 1079, in Vijjana's name, the cyclic year being Iṣvara; and the next Samvatsara, Bahudhānya, is spoken of as the second year of his reign.⁴ He does not however seem to have assumed the titles of supreme sovereignty till Śaka 1084, when he marched against Tailapa II, who was at Annigeri, and proclaimed himself an independent monarch. Tailapa seems then to have gone further south and established himself at Banavāsi.⁵ The latest year of his reign mentioned in the Inscriptions is the fifteenth, the Samvatsara or cyclic year being Pārthiva, which was current next after Śaka 1087.⁶

¹ For the Yuva Samvatsara was the sixth of his reign and it fell next after Śaka 1077. In Pramoda, 1073 was the current Śaka year and 1072 years had expired; Pali, Sans. and old Can. Ins. No. 181.

² Grant of Bhoja II of Kolhapur, Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc. Vol. III. See Section XVI.

³ He is said to have captured Tailapa and let him off through his devotion for him. He probably owed some allegiance to the Cālukya sovereign. Ins. of Rudradeva; Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp., 12-13, lines 27-30.

⁴ P. S. & O. C. Ins. Nos. 219 and 182.

⁵ JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 16.

⁶ P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 140.

For some time there was an interruption in the Cālukya power, and the Kalacuris seem to have held possession of the whole territory of that dynasty. But internal dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingāyata creed and the assassination of Vijjana considerably weakened the power of the Kalacuris, and about the Śaka year 1104, Someśvara, the son of Nurmadi Tails, succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the hereditary dominions of his family, and established himself at Annigeri. He owed his restoration to power, to the valour and devoted attachment of a feudatory of his family named Brahma or Ecmīna, who fought several battles with the enemies of his master and is said to have conquered sixty elephants by means of a single one.¹ Bomra is represented in an Inscription at Annigeri dated Śaka 1106 to have destroyed the Kalacuris and restored the Cālukyas to the throne.² But a short time after, the Yādavas of the south rose under Vira Ballala, and of the north, under Bhillama. They both fought with Bomma; but success at first attended the arms of Vira Ballala, who subdued the Cālukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty.³ We lose trace of Vira Soma or Someśvara IV after Śaka 1111.

The Cālukya family must have thrown out several branches of petty chiefs. One such has been brought to light by a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1182, Raudra Semvatsara, which was in the possession of the Khot of Teravan, a village in the Rajapur Taluka of the Ratnagiri District.⁴ The donor Keśava Mahājani was the minister of a Mahāmandaleśvara or chief of the name of Kāmvadeva, one of whose titles was "the sun that blows open the lotus bud in the shape of the Cālukya race." He is also called Kalyānapuravarādhīśvara "Lord of Kalyāna the best of cities," which like several such titles of other chiefs⁵ simply shows that he belonged to the family that once reigned with glory at Kalyāna. The village conveyed by the grant was Teravātēka,

¹ JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 16; Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 300, l. 29.

² JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 16.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 300, ll. 29-30.

⁴ Published in JRAS, Vol. V, in JBBRAS, Vol. IV, p. 105, and Memoir, Savantwadi State, Govt. Rec. No X.

⁵ See Infra, Section XVI.

identified with Teravan itself, from which it would appear that Kāmvadeva was chief of that part of Konkan. There is an Inscription in the temple of Ambābāi at Kolhapur in which is recorded the grant of a village by Somadeva who belonged to the Cālukya family and reigned at Saingameśvara, which is twelve kośas to the north-east of Ratnagiri. Somadeva was the son of Vetugideva and the father of the last was Karṇadeva.¹ Probably the Kāmvadeva of the Teravan grant belonged to this branch of the family. There are still Maratha families o' the name of Chālke reduced to poverty in the Saingameśvara Taluka or in the vicinity.

1 JBBRAS, Vol. II, p. 263.

SECTION XIII.

THE KALACURIS.

THE earliest mention of a family of this name that we have is in connection with Mangalīśa of the early Cālukya dynasty. Vinayāditya is represented in one of his Inscriptions to have subdued the Haihayas; and Vikramāditya II married, as we have seen, two girls who were sisters belonging to the family.¹ The later Rāstrakūṭa princes were also connected by marriage with the Haihayas. This family known also by the name of Kalacuri or Kulacuri² ruled over Cedi or the country about Jabbalpore. The Kalacuris of Kalyāṇa must have been an offshoot of this family. One of the titles used by Vijjana was Kālañjarapuravarādhīśvara or "Lord of the best city of Kālañjara."³ Kālañjara was a stronghold belonging to the rulers of Cedi⁴ and was probably their capital, though Tripura, the modern Tevur, is also known to have been the principal seat of the family. The title, therefore, connects the Kalyāṇa branch of the Kalacuris with the Cedi family. This branch was founded by Kṛṣṇa, who in the Belgaum grant⁵ is spoken of as "another Kṛṣṇa," the incarnation of Viṣṇu, and as "having done wonderful deeds even during his boyhood." He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and Jogama by his son Paramardin.

Paramardin was the father of Vijjana. Vijjana before his usurpation called himself only a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara or minor chief, and is first mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, the successor of Someśvara III⁶. The manner in which he drove away Taila III from Kalyāṇa, and having raised himself to the supreme power in the state, gradually assumed the titles of a paramount sovereign, has already been described. But

¹ Supra, Section X.

² See grant published in Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

³ JBBRAS, Vol. IX, p. 330, No. 50.

⁴ Bilhaṇa's Vikr. Ca., XVIII, p. 93. Karṇa seems to be represented here to have conquered Kālañjara.

⁵ JBBRAS, Vol. XVIII, p. 270.

⁶ Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, No. 119.

soon after, a religious revolution took place at Kalyāra, and Vijjana and his family succumbed to it.

The principal leader of that revolution was a person of the name of Basava. A work in Kanarese entitled Fasava Purāṇa gives an account of Basava; but it is full of marvellous stories and relates the wonderful miracles wrought by him. The principal incidents, however, may be relied on as historical. On the other hand there is another work entitled Vijjalarāyacarita, written by a Jaina, which gives an account of the events from the opposite side, since the attacks of the Lingāyatās were chiefly directed against the Jainas, and these were their enemies.

Basava was the son of a Brahman named Mādirāja, who lived at Bagevadi in the Kaladgi district. Baladeva, the prime minister of Vijjana, was his maternal uncle and gave him his daughter in marriage.¹ After Baladeva's death the king appointed Basava his prime minister as being closely related to Baladeva.² The Jainas, however, state that Basava had a beautiful sister named Padmāvatī, of whom the king became enamoured and whom he either married or made his mistress³; and it was on that account that he was raised to that office and became a man of influence. There must be some truth in this story; for the Basava Purāṇa narrates that the king gave his younger sister Nilalocanā in marriage to Basava, which looks as if it were a counter-story devised to throw discredit on the other which was so derogatory to Basava.⁴ Basava had another sister named Nāgalāmbikā, who had a son named Cenna-Basava or Basava the younger. In concert with him Basava began to propound a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping Śiva, in which the Linga and the Nandin or bull were prominent. He speedily got a large number of followers, and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jangamas. Basava had charge of the king's treasury, and out of it he spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining these Jangamas, who led a profligate life. Vijjana had another minister named Mañcannā, who was the enemy of Basava, and informed the king of

¹ Basava Purāṇa, JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 67.

² JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 69.

³ Ibid., p. 97. Sir W. Elliot's paper, JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 20.

⁴ JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 70.

his rival's embezzlements.¹ In the course of time Vijjana was completely alienated from Basava and endeavoured to apprehend him. But he made his escape with a number of followers, whereupon the king sent some men in pursuit. These were easily dispersed by Basava, and then Vijjana advanced in person. But a large number of followers now joined Basava, and the king was defeated and had to submit to his minister. Basava was allowed to return to Kalyāna and re-instated in his office.² There was, however, no possibility of a complete reconciliation, and after some time, the leader of the new sect conceived the design of putting the king to death. The circumstances that immediately led to the deed and the manner in which it was perpetrated are thus stated in the Basava Purāṇa.

At Kalyāna there were two pious Lingāyatas named Halleyaga and Madhuveyya, who were the devout adherents of their master Basava. Vijjana, listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies, caused their eyes to be put out. All the disciples of Basava were highly indignant at this cruel treatment of these holy men, and assembled in their master's house. Basava ordered Jagaddeva to murder the king, pronounced a curse on Kalyāna and left the town. Jagaddeva hesitated for a moment, but his mother spurred him on, and with two companions, Mallaya and Bommiaya, went straight to the palace of the king; and rushing through the throng of courtiers, counsellors and princes, they drew their poignards and stabbed Vijjana. Thence they went into the streets, and brandishing their weapons, proclaimed the reason of their perpetrating the deed. Then arose dissensions in the city, men fought with men, horses with horses, and elephants with elephants; the race of Vijjana was extinct, Kalyāna was a heap of ruins, and the curse pronounced by Basava was verified. Basava went in haste to his favourite shrine of Saingameśvara, situated on the confluence of the Malaprabhā with the Kṛṣṇā, and there in compliance with his prayers the god absorbed him in his body.³

¹ Ibid., pp. 78 and 89.

² JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 21; JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 89.

³ JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 96; Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, pp. 309-310.

The account given by the Jainas is different. Vijjana had gone on an expedition to Kolhapur to reduce the Śilahāra chief Bhoja II to subjection. In the course of his march back to the capital, he encamped at a certain place on the banks of the Bhīmā, and, while reposing in his tent, Basava sent to him a Jangama disguised as a Jaina with a poisoned fruit. Vijjana, who is said to have been a Jaina himself, unsuspectingly took the fruit from the hands of the seeming Jaina priest; and as soon as he smelled it, he became senseless. His son Immadi Vijjana and others hastened to the spot, but to no purpose. Vijjana, however, somewhat recovered his senses for a short while; and knowing who it was that had sent the poisoned fruit, enjoined his son to put Basava to death. Immadi Vijjana gave orders that Basava should be arrested and all Jangamas, wherever found, executed.¹ On hearing of this, Basava fled; and being pursued went to the Malabar coast and took refuge at a place called Ulavi.² The town was closely invested and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nilāmbā put an end to her existence by drinking poison. When Vijjana's son was pacified, Cenna-Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to him and was admitted into favour.³ He now became the sole leader of the Lingāyatas; but, even before, his position was in some respects superior to that of Basava. The religious portion of the movement was under his sole direction, and it was he who shaped the creed of the sect. In him the Pranava or sacred syllable Om is said to have become incarnate to teach the doctrines of the Vira Śaiva faith to Basava,⁴ and, according to the Cenna-Basava Purāna, "Cenna-Basava was Śiva; Basava, Viṣabha (or Śiva's bull, the Nandin); Bijjala, the door-keeper; Kalyāṇa, Kailāsa; (and) Śiva worshippers (or Lingāyatas), the Śiva host (or the troops of Śiva's attendants)."⁵

Vijjana's death took place in Śaka 1089 (1090 current), or A.D. 1167. He was succeeded by his son Soma, who is also called Sovideva or Someśvara. The Belgaum copper-plate charter was

¹ Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p. 320.

² JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 22.

³ Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p. 320.

⁴ Ibid., p. 311.

⁵ JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 127.

issued by him on the twelfth of the bright half of Kārttika in Śaka 1096, the cyclic year being Jaya, to confirm the grant of land to fourteen Brahmans and the god Someśvara made by one of his queens named Bāvaladevi. The king had given her his consent to make the grant as a reward for a beautiful song that she sang, on an occasion when the most influential persons belonging to his own and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience-hall.

Soma reigned till Śaka 1100 and was followed by his brother Samkama, whose Inscriptions come down to the cyclic year Śubhakṛt. In an Inscription at Balagāmve, the cyclic year Vikārin (Ś. 1101) is called the third of his reign,¹ while in another at the same place the same year is spoken of as the fifth.² In other Inscriptions we have two names Samkama and Āhavamalla, and the cyclic years Sārvarin (Ś. 1102) and Plava (Ś. 1103) are represented as the third year of his or their reign, which is possible, and Śubhakṛt (Ś. 1104) as the eighth.³

About Śaka 1104 the Cālukya prince Someśvara IV wrested some of the provinces of his ancestral dominions from the Kalacuris, and the rest must have been conquered by the Northern Yādavas; so that about this time the Kalacuri dynasty became extinct.

During the period occupied by the later Cālukya dynasty and the Kalacuris (Śaka 895-1110 or A. D. 973-1188), the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in. First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism. In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II, in the cyclic year Yuvan, and the nineteenth of his era (Śaka 1017), sixteen merchants of the Vaiśya caste constructed a Buddhistic Vihāra or monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dambal in the Dharwar District, and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another Vihāra at Lokkigundi, the modern Lakkundi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation.⁴ In Śaka 1032 the Śilahāra

¹ Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Ins. No. 183.

² Ibid. No. 189.

³ Ibid. Nos. 190, 192 and 193.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 185.

chief of Kolhapur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Siva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support.¹

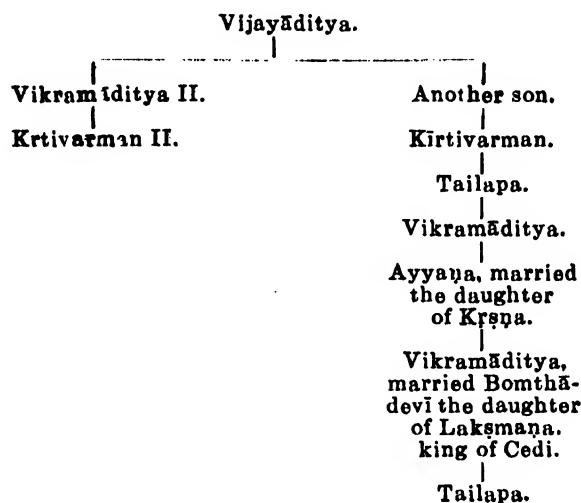
Jainism ceased in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end, received an effectual check by the rise of the Lingāyata sect. This new creed spread widely among the trading classes, which before were the chief supporters of Jainism. There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jaina idols at one time and that afterwards they were thrown out and Brahmanic ones placed instead. This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period.

The worship of the Purānic gods flourished; and, as in the times of the early Cālukyas the old sacrificial rites were reduced to a system, so during this period the endeavours of the Brahmans and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and the ordinary religious law to a system, or towards its codification, as it might be called. The texts or precepts on the subject were scattered in a great many Smṛtis and Purāṇas; and often there were apparent inconsistencies and the law was doubtful. Nibandhas or digests, of which we have now so many, began to be written in this period, but the form which they first took, and which even now is one of the recognized forms, was that of commentaries on Smṛtis. Bhoja of Dhārā, who belongs to the first part of this period, must have written a treatise on the subject, since under the name of Dhāreśvara he is referred to by Vijñāneśvara in his work. He was followed by Vijñāneśvara, who, as we have seen, lived at Kalyāna in the reign of Vikramāditya II. Aparārka, another commentator on Yājñavalkya, who calls his work a Nibandha on the Dharmasāstra or Institutes of Yājñavalkya, was a prince of the Śilāhāra family of northern Konkan and was on the throne in Śaka 1109 (A. D. 1187) and in the cyclic year Parābhava.² Or, if he was the earlier prince of that name, he must have flourished about fifty years before. This movement was continued in the next or thirteenth century by Hemādri, and by Sāyana in the fourteenth.

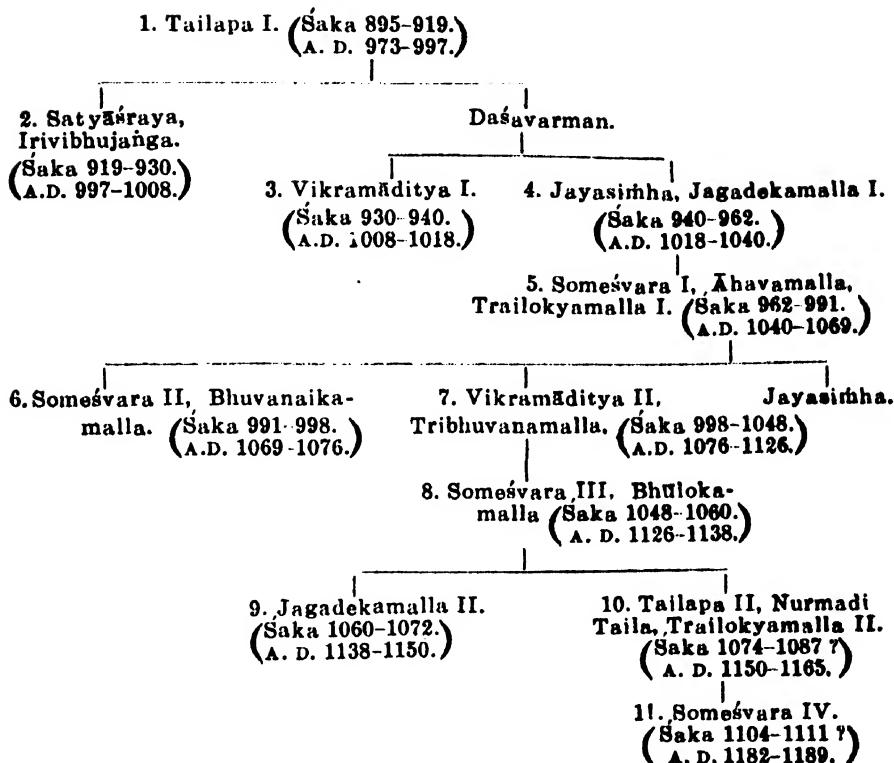
1 JBBRAS, Vol. XIII, p. 4, and infra, Section XVI.

2 JBBRAS, Vol. XII, pp. 334-335.

**Genealogy of the Cālukya family between Vijayāditya and
Tailapa as given in the Miraj grant of Jayasimha
dated Śaka 946.**



Genealogy of the Later Cālukyas.



SECTION XIV.

THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

Early History of the Family.

THE genealogy of the Yādavas is given in the introduction to the Vratakhaṇḍa attributed to or composed by Hemādri who was a minister of Mahādeva, one of the later princes of the dynasty. Some of the Manuscripts of the work, however, do not contain it, and in others, it begins with Bhillama, as it was he who acquired supreme power and raised the dynasty to importance. Others again contain an account of the family from the very beginning, the first person mentioned being the Moon who was churned out of the milky ocean. From the Moon the genealogy is carried down through all the Purāṇic or legendary ancestors to Mahādeva. But it is not difficult from the account itself to determine where the legend ends and history begins. Besides, the names of most of the historical predecessors of Bhillama agree with those occurring in the copper-plate grant translated by Pandit Bhagvan-lal Indraji.¹ He considered the Yādava dynasty mentioned in his grant to be different from that of Devagiri, and called it "A New Yādava Dynasty," as, of course, in the absence of the information I now publish, he was justified in doing. But it is now perfectly clear that the princes mentioned in the grant were the ancestors of the Devagiri Yādavas. The following early history of the family is based on the account given in the Vratakhaṇḍa² and on the grant published by the Pandit. The latter, however, brings down the genealogy only to

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 119 f.

2 The edition of the Vratakhaṇḍa in the Bibliotheca Indica contains neither of these two very valuable and important Praśastis. I have therefore had recourse to Manuscripts. There is one Manuscript only in the Government collections deposited in the Library of the Deccan College and that is No. 234 of Collection A of 1881-82 which was made by me. It contains the shorter Praśasti beginning with the reign of Bhillama. There is another copy in the Collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona, which contains the longer Praśasti. Unfortunately, however, the third and fourth leaves of the Manuscript are missing; and the second ends

Seunacandra II who was on the throne in 991 Śaka or 1069 A.D., and omits the names of some of the intermediate princes. Two other grants by princes of this dynasty found at Sangamner and Kalas-Budruk of earlier dates¹ have been recently published, and these also have been compared.

Subāhu who belonged to the Yādava race was a universal sovereign. He had four sons among whom he divided the whole earth ruled over by him. The second son Dr̥dhabrahāra² became king in the South or Deccan. The Yādavas, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathurā; then from the time of Kṛṣṇa they became sovereigns of Dvāravati or Dvārakā, and came to be rulers of the South from the time of the son of Subāhu, viz. Dr̥dhabrahāra. His capital was Śrinagara according to the Vratākhaṇḍa, while from the

with Parammadeva the successor of Seunacandra II, while the fifth begins with some of the last stanzas of the introduction referring to Hemādri and his works. The valuable portion therefore was in leaves 3 and 4; but that is irretrievably lost. I therefore endeavoured to procure copies from the private Collections in the city of Poona and obtained one from Khasgivale's library. It contains the shorter Praśasti only. My learned friend Gangadhar Shastri Datar procured another. In it the two, the shorter one and the longer, are jumbled together. There are in the commencement the first seventeen stanzas of the shorter, and then the longer one begins; and after that is over, we have the remaining stanzas of the shorter. This is the only Manuscript of the four now before me, which contains the whole of the longer Praśasti, and the information it gives about the later princes of the dynasty known to us from the Inscriptions is also valuable and new, but the Manuscript is extremely incorrect. I therefore caused a search for other copies to be made at Nasik, Kolhapur, and Ahmedabad; but none was available at those places. I give the two Praśastis in Appendix C. [Since the first edition was published I have obtained and purchased another copy of the Vratākhaṇḍa for the Government Collections. The introductory portion here is more correctly written, and I have used it in revising this Section and the Praśasti in Appendix C.]

¹ Mr. Cousen's impression of the first of these grants was seen by me before it was published by Prof. Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, p. 212, t., and its contents embodied in the copy of this work revised for this second edition. I have, however, since availed myself of one or two points made out by Prof. Kielhorn and not noticed by me. The second grant is published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 120, f.

² He is called Dr̥dhabrahārī (nom. sing.) in the MSS.; stanza 20, Appendix C. I.

grant it appears to have been a town of the name of *Candrādityapura*, which may have been the modern Chandor in the Nasik district.

He had a son of the name of Seunacandra who succeeded to the throne. The country over which he ruled was called *Seunadeśa*¹ after him, and he appears to have founded a town also of the name of *Seunapura*. *Seunadeśa* was the name of the region extending from Nasik to Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad, since later on we are told that Devagiri was situated in *Seunadeśa* and that this latter was situated on the confines of *Dandakāranya*.² This name seems to be preserved in the modern Khandesh. In a footnote on the opening page of the Khandesh Volume, the Editor of the "Bombay Gazetteer" observes that the name of the country was older than Musalman times, and it was afterwards changed by them to suit the title of *Khān* given to the Faruki kings by Ahmed I. of Gujarat. *Seunadeśa*, therefore, was very likely the original name and it was changed to Khandesh, which name soon came into general use on account of its close resemblance in sound to *Seunadeśa*. The country however extended farther southwards than the present district of Khandesh, since it included Devagiri or Daulatabad, and probably it did not include the portion north of the Tāpli.

Seunacandra's son *Dhādiyappa*³ became king after him and he was succeeded by his son *Bhillama*. After *Bhillama*, his son *Srīrāja* according to the grants, or *Rājugi* according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded⁴ by his son *Vaddiga* or *Vādugi*.

¹ Stanza 22, Appendix C. I.

² Stanza 19, Appendix C. II.

³ Called *Dhādiyasa* in the MSS.; Appendix C. I. stanza 23.

⁴ *Ibid.* Pandit Bhagvanlal translates the words *arvāk tasya* (see note below) occurring in the Yādava grant as " before him," and placing *Vaddiga* before *Srīrāja*, conjectures that he was *Bhillama*'s son and that *Srīrāja* his uncle deposed him and usurped the throne; (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 128a and 128b). But *arvāk tasya* can never mean " before him ", and must mean " after him ", and hence the conjectures are groundless. I have never seen a preceding prince mentioned in the grants after his successor, with such an introductory expression as " *before him* so and so became king." By the occurrence of the word असन्ति in stanza 23, line 2, Appendix C. I, it appears *Rājagi* was the son of *Bhillama* I.

Vaddiga is in the Sangmner grant represented as a follower of Kṛṣṇarāja who was probably Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty, and to have married Voddiyavvā, daughter of a prince of the name of Dhorappa.

Then came Dhādiyasa,¹ who was the son of Vādugi according to the Vratakhaṇḍa. Two of the grants omit his name, probably because he was only a collateral and not an ancestor of the grantor in the direct line, and the third has a line or two missing here.

Dhādiyasa was succeeded by Bhillama, who was the son of Vaddiga or Vādugi and consequently his brother.² Bhillama married according to the grants Laksmi or Lacciyavvā,³ the daughter of Jhañjha, who was probably

¹ Appendix C. I., stanza 24. If he had been mentioned in the grant, he would probably have been called Dhādiyappa.

² Ibid. Pandit Bhagvanlal omits this prince though he is mentioned in his grant. The last two lines of the fourth stanza in this are:—

आशांकस्य वभूत भ्रतलहरिः शीशद्विगग्नव्ये त्रुपः
तस्मात्शीवरभिष्ठमाक्षिपतः प्रत्यक्षधमाभवत् ॥

The Pandit translates this:—"Before him was the illustrious king Vaddiga, a Hari on earth; and therefore he was exactly like the illustrious good Bhillama in his actions." I have already remarked that instead of "before him," we should have "after him" here. The word तस्मात् is translated by "therefore." "Wherefore?" I would ask. No reason is given in the first of these lines for his being *exactly like* Bhillama; and therefore, it will not do to translate तस्मात् by "therefore." Again, the Pandit's interpretation of प्रत्यक्षधम् as "exactly like in actions" is far-fetched and unnatural. The thing is, the genitive or ablative क्षितिपतेः cannot be connected with any word in the line, and is therefore one of the innumerable mistakes which we have in this grant and most of which have been pointed out by the Pandit himself. What is wanted here is the nominative क्षितिपतिः for क्षितिपतेः and then the whole is appropriate, and तस्मात् will have its proper sense of "after him," or "from him." The correct translation then is "After him" was a king of the name of Vaddiga the prosperous, who was a Hari on earth, and *after him* or *of him* (*i. e.* Vaddiga) came the prosperous, great Bhillama in whom Virtue became incarnate." In this way we have here another king Bhillama, as mentioned in the Praśasti in the Vratakhaṇḍa in the passage cited above.

This lady, according to my translation, becomes the wife of Bhillama, who is the king mentioned immediately before, and not of his father Vaddiga as the Pandit makes out.

the Śilāhāra prince of Thana of that name. Lacciyavvā sprang on her mother's side from the Rāstrakūṭa family, and through her son became " the upholder of the race of Yadu ; " so that she was connected with three ruling dynasties and flourishing kingdoms. The Sangamner grant appears to have been issued by this Bhilla-ma in the Śaka year 922, i.e. 1000 A.D., and the prince mentioned in

1 Here there is another difficulty arising from a mistake in the grant which Pandit Bhagvanlal has in my opinion not succeeded in solving ; and he bases upon that mistake conjectures which are rather too far-reaching (p. 125a, Ind. Ant., Vol. XII.). The stanza is :—

भार्या यस्य च हंशराजतनया श्रीलस्थियव्वाह्या
धर्मत्यागविवेकबुद्धिसगुणा राष्ट्रकूटान्वया ।
या जाता नवशालनाजसमये यद्यन्वयाधारिता
सप्तांगोद्यतराज्यभारधरणाद्रायत्रयार्द्धं ततः ॥

The Pandit's translation is :—" Whose wife was the daughter of king Jhañjha Lasthiyavvā by name, possessed of the (three) good qualities of virtue, liberality, and hospitality, who was of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race, as being adopted (by them) at the time of the rule of the young prince (during his minority) and who therefore by reason of bearing the burden of the kingdoms, with the seven āngas, was an object of reverence, to the three kingdoms. "

I agree with the Pandit in reading श्री before राष्ट्रकूटान्वया and taking रायत्रय as राज्यत्रय, and, generally, in his translation of the first two and the fourth lines. But the translation of the third line, that is, the portion italicised in the above, is very objectionable. The Pandit reads राज from नाज and says that the ए in यद्यन्वया ought to be long for the metre, but would make no sense. Now, in seeking the true solution of the difficulty here, we must bear in mind that in the fourth line the lady is spoken of as " an object of reverence to the three kingdoms." Which are the three kingdoms? First evidently, that of Jhañjha, her father, who is spoken of in the first line; and secondly, that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from whose race she is spoken of as having sprung in the second line. Now we must expect some allusion to the third kingdom in the third line. The third kingdom was clearly that of the Yādavas into whose family she had been married. I, therefore, read यद्यन्वया for यद्यन्वया and thus the difficulty about the metre is removed, the य becoming prosodially long in consequence of the following द्. In the same manner I think शालनाज is a mistake for शालजान. The word जान the writer must have taken from his vernacular and considered it a Sanskrit word; or probably not knowing Sanskrit well, he must have formed it from the root जन् on the analogy of माद् from मद्, नाद् from नद्, मान from मन् &c. Or शालनाज

the grant as having struck a blow against the power of Muñja, and rendered the sovereign authority of Ranarangabhīma firm seems also to be he himself. Ranarāngabhīma was probably Tailapa, and thus it follows that the Yādava prince Bhīllama II assisted Tailapa in his war with Muñja, which we have already noticed. Vaddiga was a follower of Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāstrakūṭa family, whose latest known date is 881 Śaka, and Bhīllama II, of Tailapa. The date 922 Śaka of Bhīllama's grant is consistent with these facts. The Yādavas appear thus to have transferred their allegiance from the old to the new dynasty of paramount sovereigns as soon as it rose to power.

The next king was Vesugi¹ called in Pandit Bhagvanlal's grant Tesuka, which is a mistake or mis-reading for Vesuka or Vesuga. He married Nāyaladevi, the daughter of Gogi, who is styled a feudatory of the Cālukya family,² and was perhaps the same as the successor of the Thana prince Jhañjha. The Rāstrakūṭas must have been overthrown by the Cālukyas about the end of Jhañjha's reign, and thus his successor became a feudatory of the Cālukyas.

The Vratakhaṇḍa places Arjuna after Vesugi,³ but the two

may be considered as a mistake for चालजन्म, the sense being the same, viz. "birth of a child." The compound यदून्वयाधरिता is to be dissolved as आधरितः यदून्वयः यथा । आधारित being made the second member according to Pāṇini II. 2. 37. Or, the line may be read as या याना नवचाल-जन्मसमये यदून्वयाधरता, the dot over ना being omitted by mistake, and यान written as जाना in consequence of the usual confusion between य and ज. The translation of the line, therefore, is "who became the upholder of the race of Yadu on the occasion of the birth of a new child," i. e. through her child she became the upholder of the Yādava race. In this manner the supposition of her being adopted by the Rāstrakūṭas during the younger prince's minority becomes groundless. She must have belonged to the Rāstrakūṭa race on her mother's side.

¹ Stanza 24, Appendix C. I.

² The expression चालुक्यानवयमण्डलीक in the grant admits of being taken in the manner I have done, मण्डलीक being a mistake for माणडलिक. The Pandit understands Gogirāja as belonging to the Cālukya race. I consider my interpretation to be more probable.

³ Stanza 24, Appendix C. I.

grants omit his name; and perhaps the former mentions Arjuna not as a Yādava prince, but Arjuna the Pāndava, meaning to compare Vesugi with him and his enemies to Bhīṣma. The next king was Bhillama¹ who according to the Kalas-Budruk grant was Vesugi's son. He married Hammā, the daughter of Jayasimha and sister of Āhavamalla, the Cālukya emperor, under whose standard he fought several battles.² The Kalas-Budruk charter was issued by this prince in 948 Śaka. The cyclic year being Krodhana, 948 Śaka must have been the current year, corresponding to A. D. 1025. Pandit Bhagvanlal's grant then proceeds at once to the donor, the reigning prince Seuna, who is spoken of in general terms as "having sprung from the race" of the last-mentioned king, and is represented to have defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after "the death of Bhillama." This Bhillama was his immediate predecessor, but he was a different person from the brother-in-law of Āhavamalla, since Seuna is spoken of, not as the son of the latter or any such near relation, but simply as "having sprung from his race."

The Vratakhandā supplies the names of the intermediate princes. The elder Bhillama was succeeded by Vādugi,³ his son, "whose praise was sung by poets in melodious words." After him Vesugi⁴ became king, but how he was related to Vādugi we are not told. He humbled a number of subordinate chiefs who had grown troublesome. Then came Bhillama, and after him Seuna⁵ who issued the charter translated by pandit Bhagvanlal. What relationship the last three princes bore to each other is not stated.

Seuna is represented to have saved Paramardideva, that is, Vikramāditya II, who is styled the "luminary of the Cālukya family" from a coalition of his enemies, and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyāna.⁶ This appears

¹ Stanza 26, Ibid.

² This appears to me to be the general sense of stanza 8 and not that he fought with Āhavamalla as Pandit Bhagvanlal understands. I need not discuss the matter in detail.

³ Stanza 26, Appendix C. I.

⁴ Stanza 27, Ibid.

⁵ Stanza 28, Ibid.

⁶ Stanza 29, Ibid.

to be a reference to the coalition between the Vengi prince and Vikramāditya's brother Someśvara. The Yādava prince Seuna was thus a close ally of the Cālukya monarch and their dates also are consistent with the fact. Seunacandra's grant is dated Śaka 991 Saumya Samvatsara, while Vikramāditya II got possession of the Cālukya throne in Śaka 998 Nala. The grant mentions the relations of previous Yādava princes to the Cālukyas of Kalyāna, while the important service rendered by Seunacandra to Vikramāditya is not recorded, and he is spoken of only in general terms as having vanquished "all kings." This itself shows that in all likelihood the fact mentioned in the *Vrata-khanda* of Seunacandra's having delivered that prince from his enemies and placed him on the throne, took place after Śaka 991, and we know it as a matter of fact that Vikramāditya became king in Śaka 998.

Seunacandra was succeeded by Parammadeva who was probably his son, and after him came Simharāja¹ or "King Simha," whose full name was Singhāna² and who appears to have been his brother. He is said to have brought an elephant of the name of Karpūratilaka from Lañjipura and thus did a piece of service to Paramardin, who appears to be Vikramāditya II of the Cālukya dynasty.³

He was succeeded by his son Mallugi, who took a town of the name of Parṇakhetā from his enemies, and while residing there, carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala or Orissa.⁴ Then followed his son Amaragāngeya⁵ whose name is mentioned in a copper-plate grant issued in the reign of a subsequent king.⁶ After him came Govindarāja who was probably his son. Govindarāja was succeeded by Amaramallagi, a son of Mallugi, and he by Kāliya Ballāla. This prince was in all likelihood the son of Amaramallagi, though it is not expressly stated.

¹ Stanzas 30 and 31, Appendix C. I.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV. p. 315.

³ Stanza 32, Appendix C. I.

⁴ Stanzas 33 and 34, Ibid.

⁵ Stanzas 35, Ibid.

⁶ JBBRAS, Vol. XV, p. 386.

Ballāla's sons were set aside and the sovereignty of the Yādava family fell into the hands of his uncle Bhillama,¹ who was possessed of superior abilities. Bhillama (being represented as the uncle of Ballāla) must have been another son of Mallugi, and he is so spoken of in the grant referred to above.² He got possession of the throne after two of his brothers and their sons, wherefore he must have been a very old man at the time. Hence it is that he reigned only for a short time, having come to the throne in Śaka 1109 and died in 1113. It was this Bhillama who acquired for his family the empire that was ruled over by the Cālukyas.

Pandit Bhagvanlal has published a Stone-Inscription³ existing in a ruined temple at Anjaneri near Nasik, in which a chief of the Yādava family, named Seunadeva, is represented to have made some grant in the Śaka year 1063⁴ to a Jaina temple. From the account given above, it will be seen that there were two princes only of the name of Seuna in the Yādava family, and that the later of the two was an ally of Vikramāditya II, and consequently reigned about the end of the tenth and the beginning

¹ Stanzas 35-37, Appendix C. I.

² In an Inscription at Gadag published by Dr. Kielhorn (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 219) Bhillama is represented as the son of Karṇa, who is said to be a brother of Amaragāngēya. In the many Inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty and in the Praśastis given in several books the name Karṇa does not occur even once. The Gadag Inscription makes Mallugi the son of Sevapadeva, while in the Vratakhaṇḍa and the Paithan plates he is represented as the son of Śiṅghaṇa, who according to the former authority was one of the successors of Seupachandra and was probably his younger son. The Inscription is here opposed to two authorities which agree with each other. Hence this must be mistake; and that makes it probable that the other is also a mistake. These suppositions are strengthened by the fact that the composer of the Gadag Inscription does not mention a single particular fact with reference to any one of the princes, thus showing that he had no accurate knowledge of them. Such a merely conventional description is characteristic of a forged charter. I am, for these reasons, inclined to think that the Gadag grant published by Dr. Kielhorn is a forgery.

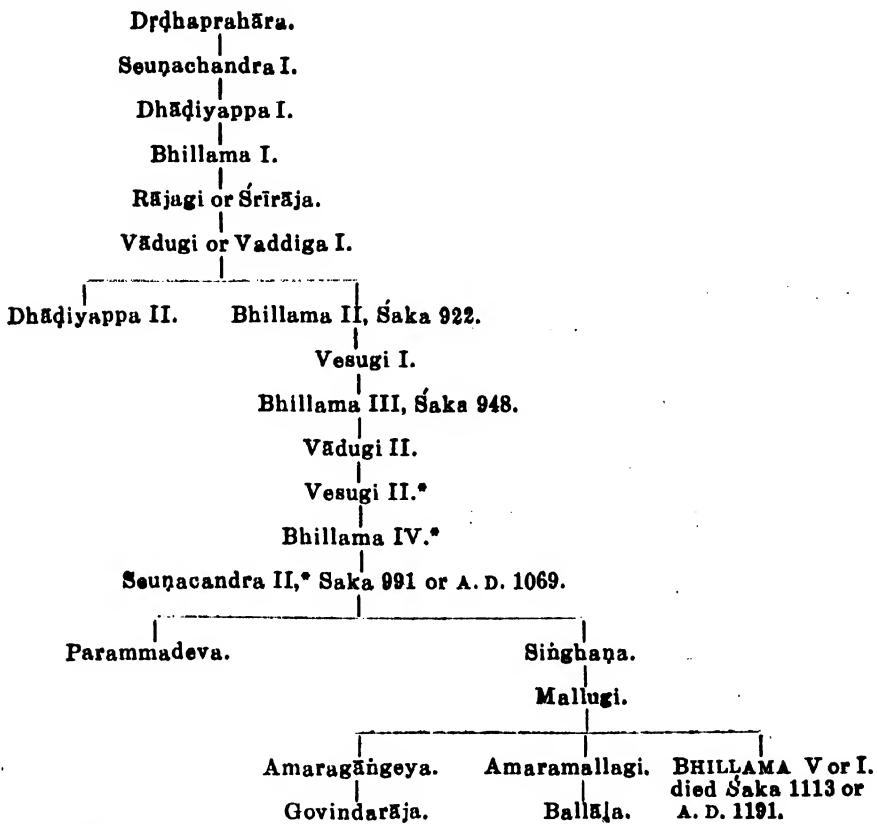
³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 126.

⁴ The correct year has been shown to be 1064 Śaka by Prof. Keilhorn, Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 422.

of the eleventh century of the Śaka era. The Seunadeva of the Anjaneri Inscription therefore cannot be this individual, and no other prince of that name is mentioned in the Vratakhandā. Besides, Seunadeva calls himself pointedly a Mahāsāmanta or chief only ; while about 1063 Śaka, when the Cālukya power had begun to decline, it does not appear likely that the Yādavas of Seunadeśa should give themselves such an inferior title. It therefore appears to me that the Seunadeva of Anjaneri belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family dependent on the main branch, and that the branch ruled over a small district of which Anjaneri was the chief city.

The number of princes who reigned from Drḍhaprahāra to Bhillama V inclusive is 22. There are in the list a good many who belonged to the same generation as the predecessors, and consequently these twenty-two do not represent so many different generations. Allowing, therefore, the usual average, in such cases of 18 years to each reign, the period that must have elapsed between the accession of Drḍhaprahāra and the death of Bhillama V is 396 years. The dynasty, therefore, was founded about 717 Śaka or 795 A. D., that is, about the time of Govinda III of the Rāstrakūta race. Possibly considering that Vaddiga I was contemporary of Kṛṣṇa III, one might say that the dynasty was founded in the latter part of the reign of Amoghavarṣa I.

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY YĀDAVAS OR THE YĀDAVAS
OF SEUNADEŚA.



* The relations of those whose names are marked with an asterisk to their predecessors are not clearly stated.

SECTION XV.

THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

Later History.

WE have seen that the Hoysala Yādavas of Halebid in Mysore were becoming powerful in the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II and aspiring to the supreme sovereignty of the Deccan, and Visnuvardhana, the reigning prince of the family at that period, actually invaded the Cālukya territory and encamped on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā-Venā. But those times were not favourable for the realization of their ambitious projects. The Cālukya prince was a man of great ability, the power of the family was firmly established over the country, its resources were large, and the dependent chiefs and noblemen were obedient. But the state of things had now changed. Weaker princes had succeeded, the Cālukya power had been broken by their dependents the Kalacuris, and these in their turn had succumbed to the internal troubles and dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingāyata sect. At this time the occupant of the Hoysala throne was Vira Ballāla, the grandson of Visnuvardhana. He fought with Brāhma or Bomma, the general of the last Cālukya prince Someśvara IV, and putting down his elephants by means of his horses, defeated him and acquired the provinces which the general had won back from Vijjana.¹

The Yādavas of the North were not slow to take advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory. Mallugi seems to have been engaged in a war with Vijjana. A person of the name of Dādā was commander of his troops of elephants and is represented to have gained some advantages over the army of the Kalacuri prince. He had four sons of the names of Mahidhara, Jahla, Sāmba, and Gangādhara. Of these Mahidhara succeeded his father and is spoken of as having defeated the forces of Vijjana.² But the acquisition of the empire of the

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 300.

2 Introduction to Jahlapa's *Suktimuktāvali*, now brought to notice for the first time :—

{ Note continued on the next page }

Cālukyas was completed by Mallugi's son Bhillama. He captured a town of the name of Śrivardhana from a king who is called Antala, vanquished in battle the king of Pratyandaka, put to death the ruler of Mangalavestaka (Mangalavedhe) of the name of Villana, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāna, put to death the lord of Hosala who was probably the Hoysala Yādava Narasimha, the father of Vira Ballala.¹ The commander of his elephants was Jahla, the brother of Mahidhara, and he is represented to have rendered Bhillama's power firm. He led a maddened elephant skilfully into the army of the Gurjara king, struck terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi, and put an end to the victorious career of Muñja and Anna.² When in this manner Bhillama made himself master of the whole country to the north of the Kṛṣṇā, he founded the city

तस्य नवये भूतकरिवृक्षनाथो दावःः सदाशानगिरानशूतःः ।
यस्येक्षणाद्बुद्धिज्ञणभूपसम्य देवं गतं संवति विक्रमेण ॥ ५ ॥
चत्वारस्त्य संजातास्तनया नवशालिनः ।
भुजा हव हरे: शश्विकमर्शीविभूषिताः ॥ ६ ॥
चतुर्मुखमुखोवाहीर्णनिगमा इव ते वभुः ।
स्वामा महीधरे जल्हः साम्बो गङ्गापरस्तथा ॥ ७ ॥
उपयोरिव तैः काले चतुर्भिः सुप्रयोजिनैः ।
मे (मैं) दुग्धिक्षोणिपालस्य गजयं जानं सदोऽनश्च ॥ ८ ॥
विज्ञाणशलजलराशिं विमध्य भुजमध्यरेण यः हनवाश् ।
शीरभियमद्वृत्थां स न फस्य महीधरः स्तुत्वः ॥ ९ ॥

The full introduction is published in the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts for the year 1887-91.

1 Appendix C. I, stanza 38. Mangalvedhe is near Pandharput. It was probably the capital of a minor chief.

2 Introduction to Jahlaṇa's Sūktimuktāvali :—

विजित्य विज्ञाणं वाते सुरलोकं वहीधरे ।
निनाय भिष्मयं जह्नो राजतां क्षयविजिताश्च ॥ ११ ॥
शूर्जरभूत्कटके कण्टकविष्मेऽनिदुर्धीमे येन ।
भगवत्सक्तीर्तिभाजा दुष्टगजः स्वेच्छजा शीतः ॥ १२ ॥
मल्लः पल्लविनोऽभीतिरभिनखस्यद्वलो भैशुगि—
मूर्त्तः पिण्डितविक्रमद्विभृशनग्रहाणा किल ग्राहणः ।
अन्नो नुच्चपराक्रमो विधुतभूर्मधूरणप्राकृणो
येनाकारि मुगारिविक्रमभृता किं किं न तस्योर्जितम् ॥ १३ ॥

The Mallugi mentioned here must have been one of the enemies of Bhillama. He probably belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family.

of Devagiri¹ and having got himself crowned, made that city his capital. This took place about the Śaka year 1109.

Bhillama then endeavoured to extend his territory farther southwards, but he was opposed by Vira Ballāla, who, as we have seen, had been pushing his conquests northwards. It was a contest for the possession of an empire and was consequently arduous and determined. Several battles took place between the two rivals, and eventually a decisive engagement was fought at Lokkigundi, now Lakkundi, in the Dharwar District, in which Jaitrasimha, who is compared to "the right arm of Bhillama" and must have been his son, was defeated and Vira Ballāla became sovereign of Kuntala. The Inscription in which this is recorded bears the date Śaka 1114 or A. D. 1192;² and Vira Ballāla, who made the grant recorded in it, was at that time encamped with his victorious army at Lokkigundi, from which it would appear that the battle had taken place but a short time before. The Northern Yādavas had to put off the conquest of Kuntala or the Southern Maratha Country for a generation.

Bhillama was succeeded in 1113 Śaka by his son Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi. He took an active part in his father's battle. "He assumed the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battle-field and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of the ladles of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailangas, and vanquished the three worlds."³ This same fact is alluded to in the Paithan grant, in which Jaitugi is represented to have killed the king of the Trikalingas in battle. He is there spoken of also as having released Ganapati from prison and to have placed him on the throne.⁴ The Rudra therefore whom

¹ Appendix C. I, stanza. 39.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 300.

³ Appendix C. I, st. 41. Just as the fruit of a horse-sacrifice is the conquest of the whole world, the fruit of a man-sacrifice is supposed here to be the conquest of the three worlds. Jaitrapāla performed metaphorically such a sacrifice; and that is considered to be the reason, as it were, of his having obtained victories everywhere, i. e., in the usual hyperbolic language, of his having succeeded in vanquishing the three worlds.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 316.

he is thus represented to have killed on the field of battle must have been the Rudradeva of the Kākatīya dynasty whose Incription we have at Anamkond near Warangal, and the Ganapati, his nephew¹ who was probably placed in confinement by Rudradeva. In other places also his war with the king of the Āndhras or Tailangas and his having raised Ganapati to the throne are alluded² to, and he is represented to have deprived the Āndhra ladies of the happiness arising from having their husbands living.³ Lakṣmīdhara, the son of the celebrated Mathematician and Astronomer Bhāskarācārya, was in the service of Jaitrapāla and was placed by him at the head of all learned Panditas. He knew the Vedas and was versed in the Tarkasāstra and Mīmāṃsā.⁴

Jaitrapāla's son and successor was Singhāna, under whom the power and territory of the family greatly increased. He ascended the throne in 1132 Śaka.⁵ He defeated a king of the name of Jajjalla and brought away his elephants. He deprived a monarch named Kakkūla of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna who was probably the sovereign of Malwa, and made Bhoja a prisoner. Janārdana, the son of Gaṅgādhara, who was Jahla's brother, is said to have taught Singhāna the art of managing elephants which enabled him to vanquish Arjuna.⁶ He had succeeded to the office of commander of elephants held by Jahla and after him by Gaṅgādhara. King Lakṣmīdhara, the lion of Bhambhāgiri, was reduced, the ruler of Dhārā was besieged by means of troops of horses, and the whole of the country in the possession of Ballāla was taken. All this

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 197.

2 JBBRAS, Vol. XV, p. 386, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 113.

3 JRAS, Vol. I, N. S., p. 414.

4 Ib. p. 415.

5 JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 5.

6 Introduction Jahlaṇa's SUktimuktāvali :—

आसीद्वाधरस्तस्य भ्राता गङ्गाधरोपमः ।
एकान्बवन्ध यो व्यालान्मुमोचैकान्यदृच्छया ॥ १६ ॥
तस्याभवत्स्तुरनूनसत्त्वो जनार्दनाद्यः करिषाहिनीशः ।
समुद्रवयो भुवनं चभार सह श्रिया चित्रमशेषमेतत् ॥ १८ ॥
सिंहोऽप्यध्यापितस्तेन गजशिक्षां तद्भुतम् ।
यथार्जुनं लसत्पत्रं समुद्रमुलयत् ॥ २० ॥

was but a child's play to King Singhāna."¹ Jajjalla must have been a prince belonging to the eastern branch of the Cedi dynasty that ruled over the province of Chattisgarh, for that name occurs in the genealogy of that dynasty.² The name Kakkūla I would identify with Kokkala which was borne by some princes of the western branch of the family, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur. The kings of Mathurā and Kāśī were killed by him in battle, and Hammira was vanquished by but a boy-general of Singhāna.³ In an Inscription also at Tilivalli in the Dharwar District, he is represented to have defeated Jajalladeva, conquered Ballāla the Hoysala king, subdued Bhoja of Panhala, and humbled the sovereign of Mālava.⁴ He is also spoken of as "the goad of the elephant in the shape of the Gūrjara king."⁵ We have an Inscription of his at Gaddaka dated 1135 Śaka, which shows that Vira Ballāla must have been deprived of the southern part of the country before that time.⁶ Singhāna is represented as reigning at his capital Devagiri.⁷

The Bhoja of Panhala spoken of above was a prince of the Śilahāra dynasty, and after his defeat, the Kolhapur kingdom appears to have been annexed by the Yādavas to their dominions. They put an end to this branch of the family as later on, they did to another, which ruled over Northern Konkan. From this time forward the Kolhapur Inscriptions contain the names of the Yādava princes with those of the governors appointed by them to rule over the district. An Inscription of Singhāna at Khadrapur in that district records the grant of a village to the temple of Koppeśvara in the year 1136 Śaka.

Singhāna seems to have invaded Gujarat several times. In an Inscription at Ambe a Brāhmaṇa chief of the name of Kholēśvara of the Mudgala Gotra is spoken of as a very brave general in the service of the Yādava sovereign. He humbled the pride of the Gūrjara prince, crushed the Mālava, destroyed the race of the

¹ Appendix C. I, st. 43 and 44. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 316.

² General Cunningham's Arch. Reports, Vol. XVII, pp. 75, 76 and 79.

³ JRAS, Vol. I, N. S., p. 414.

⁴ JBBRAS, Vol. IX, p. 326.

⁵ Major Graham's Report on Kolhapur, Ins. No. 13.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 297.

⁷ Major Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10.

king of the Ābhiras, and being like " wild fire to the enemies " of his master, left nothing for Singhana to be anxious about. His son Rāma succeeded him, and a large expedition under his command was again sent to Gujarat. Rāma advanced up to the Narmadā, where a battle was fought, in which he slew numbers of Gūrjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life.¹ From this it would appear that Gujarat was invaded by Singhana on two occasions at least, if not more ; and this is borne out by what we find stated in the authorities for the history of Gujarat.

Somadeva, the author of the Kirttikaumudi, which gives an account of the minister Vastupāla and his masters—the princes of the Vāghelā branch of the Cālukya family—describes an invasion of Gujarat by Singhana in the time of Lavanaprasāda and his son Viradhavala. "The capital of Gujarat trembled with fear when the advance of Singhana's army was reported. Being afraid of this foreign invasion no one among the subjects of the Gūrjara king began the construction of a new house or stored grain, and the minds of all were restless. Neglecting to secure the grain in their fields they showed a particular solicitude to procure carts, and as the army of the enemy approached nearer and nearer, the people with their fears greatly excited, removed farther and farther. When Lavanaprasāda heard of the rapid advance of the innumerable host of the Yādava prince, he knit his brow in anger ; and though he had but a small army, proceeded with it to meet that of the enemy, which was vastly superior. When the forces of Singhana arrived on the banks of the Tāpi he rapidly advanced to the Mahi. Seeing, on the one hand, the vast army of the enemy and, on the other, the indomitable prowess of the Cālukya force, the people were full of doubt and could not foresee the result. The enemy burnt villages on their way, and the volume of smoke that rose up in the air, showed the position of their camp to the terrified people and enabled them to direct their movements accordingly. The Yādavas overran the country about Bharoch while the plentiful crops were still standing in the fields ; but the king of Gujarat did not consider them unconquerable."²

¹ Arch. Surv. of W. I., Vol. III, p. 85.

² Kirttikaumudi IV, stanzas 43-53.

In the meanwhile, however, four kings of Marwar rose against Lavanaprasāda and his son Viradhavala, and the chiefs of Godhrā and Lāṭa, who had united their forces with theirs, abandoned them and joined the Marwar princes. In these circumstances Lavanaprasāda suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards.¹ The Yādava army, however, did not, according to Somesvara, advance farther; but he gives no reason whatever, observing only that "deer do not follow a lion's path even when he has left it."² But if the invasion spread such terror over the country as Somesvara himself represents, and the army of Singhana was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gūrjara prince retreated, unless he had agreed to pay a tribute or satisfied the Yādava commander in some other way. In a Manuscript discovered some years ago of a work containing forms of letters, deeds, patents, &c., there is a specimen of a treaty with the names of Simhana and Lavanaprasāda as parties to it, from which it appears that a treaty of that nature must actually have been concluded between them.³ The result of the expedition, therefore, was that Lavanaprasāda had to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Singhana.

¹ Ib., st. 55-60.

² Ib., st. 63.

³ This work is entitled *Lekhapañcāśikā*, and the Manuscript was purchased by me for Government in 1883. The first leaf is wanting and the colophon does not contain the name of the author. The Manuscript, however, is more than four hundred years old, being transcribed in 1536 of the Vikrama Samvat. For the variable terms in the forms given by the author, he often uses the usual expression *amuka*, meaning "some one" or "such a one." This general expression, however, is not used to indicate the date, and we have in all the forms one date, viz. 15 Sudi of Vaiśākha, in the year of Vikrama 1288, except in one case where it is the 3rd Sudi. This probably was the date when the author wrote. Similarly, when giving the form of a grant inscribed on copper-plates, the author in order probably to make the form clear, uses real and specific names. He gives the genealogy of the Cālukya kings of Anahilapatṭana from Mūlarāja to Bhīma II, and then introduces Lavanaprasāda, whom he calls Lāvanyaprasāda and styles a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, as the prince making the grant. Similarly, in giving the form of a treaty of alliance called *Yamalapatra*, the persons who are introduced as parties to it are Simhana and Lāvanyaprasāda and the form runs thus :—

This invasion of Gujarat must have been one of the earlier ones alluded to in the Ambe Inscription, and Kholesvara himself must have been the commander of the Yādava army on the occasion. For Lavaṇyaprasāda is said to have declared himself independent of his original master Bhīma II of Anahilapāṭṭana, about the year 1276 Vikrama,¹ corresponding to 1141 Śaka, which was about the ninth or tenth year of Singhāna's reign, and the work in which the treaty mentioned above occurs, was composed in 1288 Vikrama, i. e. 1153 Śaka. But the expedition under the command of Rāma, the son of Kholesvara, must have been sent a short time before Śaka 1160, the date of Ambe Inscription. For Rāma's son is represented to have been a minor under the guardianship of that chief's sister Lakṣmī, who governed the principality in the name of the boy. Rāma, therefore, had not died so many years before Śaka 1160 as to allow of his

संवत् १२८८ वर्षे वैशाखशुद्धि १५ सोमेऽद्येह श्रीमद्विजयकटके महाराजाधिगजश्री-
भत्सिंहण्डेश्वस्य महामण्डलेश्वरराणकश्रीलावण्यप्रसादस्य च । संराज (साम्राज्य or
साम्राद्) कुलश्रीश्रीमत्सिंहण्डेश्वेन महामण्डलेश्वरराणश्रीलावण्यप्रसादेन पूर्वस्त्रद्धात्मीय
२ (i. e., आत्मीय again) देशेषु रहणीयं । केनापि कस्यापि भूमी नाक्तमणीया ।

"On this day the 15th Sudi of Vaisākha, in the year Sañvat 1288, in the Camp of Victory, [a treaty] between the paramount king of kings, the prosperous Simhāna and the Mahamandaleśvara Rāṇa, the prosperous Lāvanyaprasāda. Simhāna whose patrimony is paramount sovereignty, and the Mahamandaleśvara Rāṇa the prosperous Lāvanyaprasāda should according to former usage confine themselves, each to his own country; neither should invade the country of the other."

The treaty then provides that when either of them is taken up by an enemy, the armies of both should march to his release; that if a prince from either country ran away into the other with some valuable things, he should not be allowed quarter, &c. Now, it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in this form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them. Simhāna is but another form of Singhāna, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the "victorious camp," which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Someśvara.

In रहणीय we have, I think, the vernacular root रहे "to remain," "to live." For further details see my Report on the Search for Manuscripts during 1882-83, pp. 39 and 225.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190..

boy having attained his majority by that time. On the occasion of this expedition Visaladeva, the son of Viradhabala, was the sovereign of Gujarat. For in an Inscription of his he boasts of his having been "the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Singhana's army,"¹ and he must have succeeded his father about the year 1292 Vikrama corresponding to Śaka 1157,² though he obtained possession of the throne at Anahilapattana in Vikrama 1302, corresponding to Śaka 1167 and 1246 A. D. The foundation of his boast was probably the fact of Rāma's having been killed in the battle. What the ultimate result was, however, the Inscription does not inform us.

Singhana appointed one Bicāna or Bica, the son of Cikka and younger brother of Malla, to be governor of the southern provinces and his viceroy there. He fought with his master's enemies in the South as Kholeśvara did in the North and kept them in check. Bicāna is represented to have humbled the Rattas who were petty feudatories in the Southern Maratha Country, the Kadambas of Konkan, i. e., of Goa, the Guttas sprung from the ancient Guptas, who held a principality in the South, the Pāndyas, the Hoysalas, and the chiefs of other Southern provinces, and to have erected a triumphal column on the banks of the Kāverī.³ The date of the grant in which all this is recorded is Śaka 1160 or A. D. 1238.

It thus appears that the Yādava empire became in the time of Singhana as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties. The full titles of a paramount sovereign are given to Singhana in his Inscriptions, such as "the support of the whole world," "the lover of the earth (Prithvivallabha)," and "king of kings." Since Kṛṣṇa, the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu, is represented in the Purāṇas to have belonged to the Yādava family, the princes of Devagiri called themselves

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 191 and 212.

2 Viradhabala, it is said, died not long before Vastupāla. The death of the latter took place in Vikrama 1297. Vastupāla was minister to Visaladeva also for some time. We might, therefore, refer the accession of the latter to Vikrama 1292. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190.

3 JBBRAS, Vol XV, pp. 386-7, and Vol. XII, p. 43.

Viṣṇuvāṁśodbhava;¹ and as Kṛṣṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvārakā, they assumed the title of Dvāravatīpuravarādhīśvara, "the supreme lord of Dvāravati, the best of cities."²

In the reign of Singhāna as well as of his two predecessors the office of Chief Secretary or Śrīkaranādhīpa, which in a subsequent reign was conferred on Hemādri, was held by a man of the name of Sodhala. He was the son of the Bhāskara, a native of Kashmir who had settled in the Deccan. Sodhala's son Śāringadhara wrote in this reign a treatise on music entitled Samgīta Ratnākara which is extant.³ There is a commentary on this work attributed to a king of the name of Singa who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Āndhra circle. This Singa appears in all likelihood to be Singhāna; and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependant, as is often the case.⁴ Cāṅgadeva, the grandson of Bhāskarācārya and son of Lakṣmīdhara, was chief astrologer to Singhāna; and also Anantadeva, the grandson of Bhāskarācārya's brother Śrīpati and son of Gaṇapati. Cāṅgadeva founded a Māṭha or college for the study of his grandfather's Siddhāntasiromāṇi and other works at Patna in the Chalisgaon Division of the Khandesh District, and Anantadeva built a temple at a village in the same Division, and

1 i. e. "of the race of Viṣṇu."

2 Graham's Report, Ins. No. I0, and JBBRAS, Vol. XII, p. 7.

3

तस्याभ्युननयः प्रभूतविनयः श्रीसोङ्गलः प्रौढधी—
येन श्रीकरणप्रबृद्धशिवं भृष्णम् भिलम् ।
आगध्यात्विललोकशोकशमनी कीर्तिः समासादिना
जैत्रे जैत्रपदं न्यथायि महती श्रीसिङ्गेण श्रीरपि ॥

Then follows one verse in praise of Singhāna and two in praise of Sodhala, in which he is represented to have pleased Singhāna by his merits and to have conferred benefits on all through the wealth and influence thus acquired; and then we have तस्माद्याभ्युन्नेजातः शार्ङ्गदेवः सुधाकरः । उपर्युपरि सवान्यः सदोदारः स्फुरत्करः ॥ Introduction to Samgītaratnākara, MSS. No. 979, Deccan College Collections of 1887-91 इति श्रीमद्विनोदश्रीकरणाधिपतिश्रीसोङ्गलनन्दननिःशङ्क-श्रीशार्ङ्गदेवविरचिते संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्णकाध्यायस्तृतीयः समाप्तः । fol. 122a.

4 My Report on MSS for 1882-83, pp. 37, 38 and 222.

dedicated it to Bhavāni on the 1st of Caitra in the Śaka year 1144 expired.¹

Singhana's son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla, who "was the abode of all arts, and was thus the very moon in opposition, full of all the digits, that had come down to the earth, to protect it. He was death to hostile kings and firm in unequal fights."² But if he protected the earth at all, he must have done so during the lifetime of his father as Yuvarāja, for the latest date of Singhana is Śaka 1169, and in a copper-plate Inscription of his grandson and Jaitugi's son Kṛṣṇa, Śaka 1175 (Pramādi-Samvatsara) is stated to be the seventh of his reign, so that Kṛṣṇa began to reign in Śaka 1169 corresponding to 1247 A. D.³ And in the longer of the two historical Introductions to the Vratakhandā, Jaitugi is not mentioned at all. After Singhana, we are told that his grandsons Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva came to the throne, of whom the elder—Kṛṣṇa—reigned first.⁴

Kṛṣṇa's Prakrit name was Kanhāra, Kanhara, or Kandhāra. He is represented to have been the terror of the kings of Maṭha, Gujarat, and Konkan, to have "established the king of Telanga," and to have been the sovereign of the country of the Cola king.⁵ In the Vratakhandā also he is said to have destroyed the army of Visala, who we know was sovereign of Gujarat at this time, and who had been at war with Singhana, and, in general terms, to have "conquered a great many enemies in bloody battles in which numbers of horses and elephants were engaged, reduced some to captivity and compelled others to seek refuge in forests, and, having thus finished the work of vanquishing the series of earthly kings, to have marched to the heavenly world to conquer Indra."⁶ Laks-mideva, son of Janārdana, is represented by his wise counsels to

¹ JRAS, Vol. I, N. S., p. 415, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III. p. 113.

² Appendix C. II, stanza 7.

³ JBBRAS, Vol. XII, p. 42.

⁴ Appendix C. I, st. 45.

⁵ JBBRAS, Vol. XII, p. 38.

⁶ That is, "left this world," "died," Appendix C. II, st. 11

have helped Kṛṣṇa to consolidate his power and to have by his sword subdued his enemies.¹

Kṛṣṇa performed a great many sacrifices and thus "brought fresh strength to the Vedic ceremonial religion which in the course of time had lost its hold over the people." In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1171, found in the Belgaum Taluka, Malla or Mallisetṭi is spoken of as the elder brother of Bīca or Bicāna, the Viceroy of Singhāna in the South, and was himself governor of the province of Kuhundi. He lived at Mudugala, probably the modern Mudgala, and gave, by the consent of Kṛṣṇa, his sovereign, lands in the village of Bagavadi to thirty-two Brahmans of different Gotras.² Among the family names of these it is interesting to observe some borne by modern Mahārāṣṭra Brahmans, such as Patavardhana and Ghaisāsa, prevalent among Chitpavanas, and Ghalisāsa, Ghalisa, and Pāthaka, among Deśasthas. The name Trivādi also occurs; but there is no trace of it among Maratha Brāhmaṇas, while it is borne by Brāhmaṇas in Gujarat and Upper Hindustan. In another grant, Caunda the son of Bicāna, who succeeded to the office and title of his father, is represented to have personally solicited king Kṛṣṇa at Devagiri to permit him to grant the village mentioned therein.³

Jahlaṇa, son of Lakṣmīdeva who had succeeded his father, assisted Kṛṣṇa diligently by his counsels in conjunction with his younger brother. He was commander of the troops of elephants and as such fought with Kṛṣṇa's enemies. He compiled an anthology of select verses from Sanskrit poets, called Sūkti-

1 Intr. Jahlaṇa's Sūktimuktāvali :—

विश्वाणपरायणः स्फुरदुरुस्त्वर्णार्चितार्थिव्रज-
सत्साऽद्भूतविक्रमः समभवच्छीलक्षिमंडवः सुधीः ।
मन्त्रेनिर्जितदेवमन्त्रिधिषणैर्जप्रभ्लयप्रकर्मे
राज्यं कृष्णमहीपतेगविकलं इत्वा स्थिरं योऽव्यधात् ॥ २१ ॥
अगस्त्य इव यस्यासिन्यञ्चितक्षितिभृद्भूमौ ।
चित्रं सोप्यकरोन्मृत्यकबन्धसमराणवम् ॥ २२ ॥

2 JBBRAS, Vol. XIII, p. 27. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 304. Kuhundi corresponds to a part of the modern Belgaum District.

3 JBBRAS, Vol. XII, p. 43.

muktāvali, which is extant.¹ The Vedāntakalpataru, which is a commentary on Vācaspatimisra's Bhāmati which itself is a commentary on Saṅkarācārya's Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya, was written by Amalānanda in the reign of Kṛṣṇa.²

Kṛṣṇa was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva in 1182 Śaka or 1260 A. D. "He was a tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of the king of the Tailanga country, the prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gūrjara, he destroyed the king of Konkana with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karnāṭa and Lāṭa to mockery."³ The Gūrjara here mentioned must be Visaladeva noticed above, as Mahādeva is represented in the Paithan grant to have vanquished him;⁴ and the king of Karnāṭa was probably a Hoysala Yādava of Halebid. "King Mahādeva never killed a woman, a child, or one who submitted to him; knowing this and being greatly afraid of him, the Andhras placed a woman on the throne; and the king of Mālava also for the same reason installed a child in his position, and forthwith renouncing all his possessions practised false penance for a long time. He took away in battle the elephants and the five musical instruments of the ruler of Tailangāna, but left the ruler Rudramā as he refrained from killing a woman."⁵ In a work on Poetics called Pratāparudriya by Vidyānātha there occurs

1 Introduction, Jahlaṇa's Sūktimuktavali :—

तस्यास्ते तनयं नयोद्दिविधृव्यधृव्यधातां सुधीः
सागसागविचारणा। सु चतुरः श्रीजह्नगाद्यः किंतो ॥ २६ ॥
मत्पित्रा दृनमस्मै प्रनिहतवलवेद्विभि भगोपसर्ग
गज्यं प्राज्यप्रभावप्रथितगृणभृता कृष्णगजाय भक्ष्या ।
नन्निर्वाह्यं भयेन द्विगुणिनधिपणाशक्तिभक्तिविधिन
सर्वं यः स्वाधि (निकार्यं हिनमनयहता भावुकेनात्मजेन ॥ २७ ॥
धृवं यस्यास्ति हस्ताच्चेऽ मदान्धा करिश्याहिनी ।
दानोदकप्रवाहोत्र दृश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥
तनेयं क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्सभापिनिसंप्रहान् ।
स्वन्निमुक्तावलीकण्ठकन्दलीभूषणं गताप्त ॥ ३८ ॥

2 Transactions, Ninth Congress of Orientalists, Vol. I, p. 423.

3 Appendix C. I, st. 48, and II, st. 13.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 316.

5 Appendix C. I, st. 52, and II, st. 14 and 15.

a specimen of a dramatic play in which Gaṇapati of the Kākatilya dynasty, the same prince who is represented in the Paithan grant to have been released from confinement by Jaitugi, is mentioned as having left his throne to his daughter, whom, however, he called his son and named Rudra, and who is spoken of as "a king" and not queen. She adopted Pratāparudra, the son of her daughter, as her heir. This, therefore, was the woman spoken of above as Rudramā and as having been placed on the throne by the Āndhras.¹

"Soma, the lord of Konkana, though skilled in swimming in the sea, was together with his forces drowned in the rivers formed by the humour trickling from the temples of Mahādeva's maddened elephants." "Mahādeva deprived Someśvara of his kingdom and his life."² We have seen that Kṛṣṇa fought with the king of Konkan, but it appears he did not subjugate the country thoroughly. His successor Mahādeva, however, again invaded it with an army consisting of a large number of elephants. Soma or Someśvara was completely defeated on land and his power broken, whereupon he appears to have betaken himself to his ships. There somehow he met with his death,³ probably by being drowned, for it is said that "even the sea did not protect him" and that "he betook himself to the submarine fire," thinking the fire of Mahādeva's prowess to be more unbearable.⁴ Konkan was thereupon annexed to the territories of the Yādavas. Hence it is that the country was governed by a viceroy appointed by the Devagiri king during the time of Mahādeva's successor, as we find from the Thana plates published by Mr. Wathen.⁵ The Someśvara whom Mahādeva subdued belonged to the Śilāhāra dynasty of Thana that had been ruling over that part of Konkan for a considerable period. He is the last prince of the dynasty

1 एवमेतत् । अन्यथा कथमीश्वरप्रसादावृते निरङ्कुशं स्त्रीव्यक्तिविशेषस्य लोकाधिपत्यम् । एवं मातृष्ठ-
शम्भुना गणपतिमहाराजेनाभ्यन्तरस्यानुभावस्य सदृशामव पूत्र इति व्यवहारः कृतस्तदनुशुणा च इदं
इत्याख्या । Poona lithographed edition of Śaka 1771, fol. 29. See also Dr. Hultzsch's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, pp. 198, 199

2 Appendix C. I, st. 49, 50, and II, st. 17.

3 Appendix C. I., st. 49.

4 Ibid. I, st. 51, and II, st. 18.

5 JRAS (old series), Vol. V. p. 177.

whose Inscriptions are found in the district, and his dates are Śaka 1171 and 1182.¹

Mahādeva like his predecessors reigned at Devagiri, which is represented as the capital of the dynasty to which he belonged and as situated in the country called Seuna on the borders of Dandakāranya. It was the abode of the essence of the beauty of the three worlds and its houses rivalled the peaks of the mountain tenanted by gods, and the Seuna country deserved all the sweet and ornamental epithets that might be applied to it."² At Pandharpur there is an Inscription dated 1192 Śaka, Pramoda Saṁvatsara, in which Mahādeva is represented to have been reigning at the time. He is there called Praudhapratāpa Cakravartin, or "Paramount sovereign possessing great valour". The Inscription records the performance of an Aptoryāma sacrifice by a Brahman chief of the name of Keśava belonging to the Kasyapa Gotra.

The immediate successor of Mahādeva was Āmaya³ who appears to have been his son; but the sovereign power was soon wrested from his hands by the rightful heir Rāmacandra, son of Kṛṣṇa, who ascended the throne in 1193 Śaka or 1271 A. D. He is called Rāmadeva or Rāmarāja also. In the Thana copper-plate grants he is spoken of as "a lion to the proud elephant in the shape of the lord of Mālava," from which it would appear that he was at war with that country. He is also called "the elephant that tore up by the root the tree in the shape of the Tailanga king." This must be an allusion to his wars with Pratāparudra the successor of Rudramā, which are mentioned in the work noticed above. Several other epithets occur in the grants; but they are given as mere birudas or titles which were inherited by Rāmacandra from his predecessors, and do not point to any specific events in his reign. His Inscriptions are found as far to the South as the confines of Mysore, so that the empire he ruled over was as large as it ever was.

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, Part II, p. 422.

² Appendix C. II, st. 19 and 20. "The mountain tenanted by gods" may be the Himalaya or Meru. In this epithet there is a reference to the etymology of Devagiri which means "a mountain of or having gods".

³ Paithan grant, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 317.

There is in the Deccan College Library a Manuscript of the *Amarakośa* written in Konkan on *Tāla* leaves during his reign in the year 4398 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to Śaka 1219 and A. D. 1297. His viceroy in Konkan in Śaka 1212 was a Brahman named *Kṛṣṇa* belonging to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, whose grandfather *Padmanābha* first acquired royal favour and rose into importance in the reign of Singhana. One of the Thana grants was issued by him, and the other, dated 1194 Śaka, by *Acyuta Nayaka*, who was also a Brahman and who appears to have been a petty chief and held some office which is not stated. Where he resided is also not clear. By the Paithan copper-plate charter, which was issued in Śaka 1193, *Rāmacandra* assigned three villages to fifty-seven Brahmans on conditions some of which are rather interesting. The Brahmans and their descendants were to live in those villages, not to mortgage the land, allow no prostitutes to settle there, prevent gambling, use no weapons, and spend their time in doing good deeds.¹

Hemādri, the celebrated author, principally of works on *Dharmaśāstra*, flourished during the reigns of *Mahādeva* and *Rāmacandra* and was minister to both. In the Introduction to his works on *Dharmaśāstra* he is called *Mahādeva's Śrikaraṇādhipa* or *Śrīkaraṇaprabhu*. In the Thana copper-plate of 1194 Śaka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the *Ādhipatya* or Controllership of all *karanya*. This office seems to have been that of Chief Secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his master and kept the State Record. *Hemādri* is also called *Mantrin* or counsellor generally. In his other works and in the Thana plate, *Rāmaraja* instead of *Mahādeva* is represented as his master. *Mahādeva's* genealogy and his own are given at the beginning of his works on *Dharma*. Sometimes the former begins with *Singhana*, sometimes with *Bhillama*, while in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* the exploits of *Mahādeva* alone are enumerated. The description of the several princes is often couched in general terms and consists of nothing but eulogy. But the *Vratakhaṇḍa*, which was the first work composed by *Hemādri*, contains, as we have seen, a very valuable account of the dynasty from the very beginning, and by far the greater portion of it, is undoubtedly historical.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 319.

Hemādri was a Brahman of the Vatsa Gotra. His father's name was Kāmadeva, grandfather's Vāsudeva, and great-grandfather's Vāmana.¹ He is described in terms of extravagant praise; and the historical truth that may be gleaned from it appears to be this. Hemādri was very liberal to Brahmans and fed numbers of them every day. He was a man of learning himself, and learned men found a generous patron in him. He is represented to be religious and pious, and at the same time very brave. He evidently possessed a great deal of influence. Whether the voluminous works attributed to him were really written by him may well be questioned; but the idea at least of reducing the religious practices and observances that had descended from times immemorial to a system, must certainly have been his, and must have been carried out under his supervision.

His great work is called the Caturvarga Cintāmani, which is divided into four parts, viz., (1) Vratakhandā, containing an exposition of the religious fasts and observances; (2) Dānakhandā, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached, are explained; (3) Tirthakhandā, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places; and (4) Moksakhanda, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth. There is a fifth Khandā or part which is called Pariśesakhandā or Appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on Śrāddhas or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rights, and (4) on Prāyascitta or atonement. All these works are replete with a great deal of information and innumerable quotations. They are held in great estimation, and future writers on the same subjects draw largely from them. A commentary called Āyurvedarasāyana on a medical treatise by Vāgbhāṭa and another on Bopadeva's Muktāphala, a work expounding Vaiṣṇava doctrines, are also attributed to him.

This Bopadeva was one of Hemādri's protegees and the author of the work mentioned above, and of another entitled Harillā, which contains an abstract of the Bhāgavata. Both of these were written at the request of Hemādri as the author himself tells

¹ Pariśesakhanḍa, Bib. Ind. Ed., pp. 4-5.

us.¹ Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Keśava and the pupil of Dhaneśa. His father as well as his teacher lived at a place called Sārtha situated on the banks of the Varadā. Bopadeva, therefore, was a native of Berar. Bopadeva, the author of a treatise on grammar called Mugdhabodha, appears to be the same person as this, since the names of the father and the teacher there mentioned are the same as those we find in these works. A few medical treatises also, written by Bopadeva, have come down to us.

Hemādri has not yet been forgotten in the Maratha country. He is popularly known by the name of Hemādpant, and old temples throughout the country of a certain structure are attributed to him. He is said to have introduced the Modi or the current form of writing, and is believed to have brought it from Lankā or Ceylon. As chief secretary he had to superintend the writing of official papers and records, and it is possible he may have introduced some improvements in the mode of writing.

The great Maratha Sādhu or Saint Jñāneśvara or Dnyāneśvara as his name is ordinarily pronounced, flourished during the reign of Rāmcandra. At the end of his Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgītā he tells us: "In the Kali age, in the country of Mahārāṣṭra and on the southern bank of the Godāvarī, there is a sacred place five kośas in circuit, the holiest in the three worlds, where exists Mahālaya, who is the thread that sustains the life of the world. There, king Rāmacandra, a scion of the Yadu race and the abode of all arts, dispenses justice, and there a vernacular garb was prepared for the Gītā by Jñānadeva, the son of Nivṛittinātha, sprung from the family of Maheśa."² The

1 विद्वद्वनेशशिष्येण मिष्केशवस्तुतुना । हेमाद्रिर्बोपदेवेन मुक्ताकलमन्तीकरत् ॥

श्रीभद्रागवतस्कन्धाधयार्थादि निस्प्यते । विदुषा ओपदेवेन मन्त्रहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥

Dr. Rajendralal's Notices of Skr. MSS, Vol. II, pp. 48 and 200.

2 ऐसे युगीं परि कर्त्ता । आणि महागटमंडलीं ।

श्रीगोदावरीच्या कूळीं । दक्षिणालीं ॥ १ ॥

त्रिभुवनेकपवित्र । अनादि पंचक्रोशकेव ।

जेथ जगाचं जीवनस्तूत्र । श्रीमहालया असे ॥ २ ॥

तेथ यद्युषेशविलास । जो सकळकळानिवास ।

न्यायांतं पोर्षी क्षितिश । श्रीगमचंद्र ॥ ३ ॥

तेथ महेशान्वयसंभूतं । श्रीनिवृत्तिनाथसुनें ।

केलं ज्ञानेद्रेवं गीते । डेशीकार लेणे ॥ ४ ॥

date of the completion of the work is given as Śaka 1212 or A. D. 1290, when we know Rāmacandra was on the throne.

Rāmacandra was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Deccan. The Mussalmans had been firmly established at Delhi for about a century, and though they had not yet turned their attention to the Deccan, it was not possible they should refrain from doing so for a long time. Alla-ud-din Khilji, the nephew of the reigning king, who had been appointed governor of Karra, was a person of a bold and adventurous spirit. In the year 1294 A. D. or Śaka 1216, he collected a small army of 8000 men and marched straight to the South till he reached Ellichpur, and then suddenly turning to the West appeared in a short time before Devagiri. The king never expected such an attack and was consequently unprepared to resist it. According to one account he was even absent from his capital. He hastily collected about 4000 troops, and threw himself between the city and the invading army. But being aware he could not hold out for a long time, he took measures for provisioning the fort and retired into it. The city was then taken by the Mahomedans and plundered, and the fort was closely invested. Alla-ud-din had taken care to spread a report that his troops were but the advanced guard of the army of the king which was on its way to the Deccan. Rāmacandra, therefore, despairing of a successful resistance began to treat for peace. Alla-ud-din, who was conscious of his own weakness, received his proposals with gladness and agreed to raise the siege and retire on condition of receiving from the king a large quantity of gold. In the meantime, Rāmacandra's son Śāmkara collected a large army and was marching to the relief of the fort, when Alla-ud-din left about a thousand men to continue the siege, and proceeded with the rest to a short distance from the town and gave battle to Śāmkara's forces. The Hindus were numerically superior and forced the Mahomedans to fall back; but the detachment left to observe the movements of the garrison, joined them at this time, and Śāmkara's followers, thinking it to be the main army that was on its way from Delhi, were seized with a panic, and a confusion ensued which resulted in the complete defeat of the Hindus.

Rāmacandra or Rāmadeva then continued the negotiations,

but Alla-ud-din raised his demands. The Hindu king's allies were preparing to march to his assistance, but in the meanwhile Rāmacandra discovered that the sacks of grain that had been hastily thrown into the fort really contained salt; and since the provisions had been well nigh exhausted, he was anxious to hasten the conclusion of peace. It was therefore agreed that he should pay to Alla-ud-din "600 maunds of pearls, two of jewels, 1000 of silver, 4000 pieces of silk, and other precious things," cede Ellichpur and its dependencies, and send an annual tribute to Delhi. On the receipt of the valuable treasure given to him by the Devagiri prince, Alla-ud-din retired.

Some time after, Alla-ud-din assassinated his aged uncle and usurped the throne. King Rāmacandra did not send the tribute for several years, and to punish him the Delhi monarch despatched an expedition of 30,000 horse under the command of Malik Kafur, a slave who had risen high in his favour. Malik Kafur accomplished the long and difficult march "over stones and hills without drawing rein," and arrived at Devagiri in March 1307 A. D., or about the end of Śaka 1228. A fight ensued in which the Hindus were defeated and Rāmadeva was taken prisoner.¹ According to another account, Malik Kafur came laying waste the country about Devagiri, and the Hindu king observing the futility of resistance surrendered himself. Rāmacandra was sent to Delhi, where he was detained for six months and afterwards released with all honour. Thenceforward he sent the tribute regularly and remained faithful to the Mahomedans. In Śaka 1231 or A. D. 1309, Malik Kafur was again sent to the Deccan to subdue Tai-langana. On the way he stopped at Devagiri, where he was hospitably entertained by the king.

Rāmadeva died this year and was succeeded by his son Śamkara. He discontinued sending the annual tribute to Delhi and Malik Kafur was again sent to the Deccan in Śaka 1234 or A. D. 1312 to reduce him to submissioon. He put Śamkara to death, laid waste his kingdom, and fixed his residence at Devagiri.

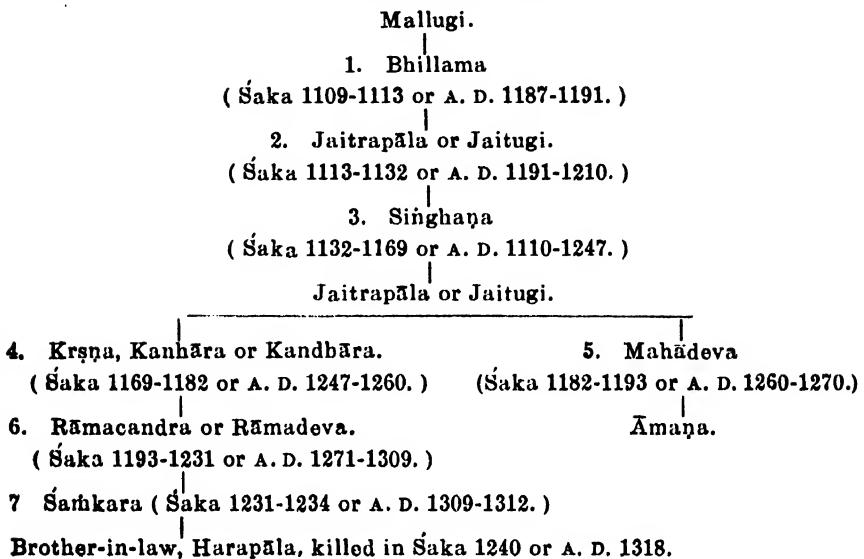
In the latter years of Alla-ud-din, his nobles, disgusted with the overwhelming influence which Malik Kafur had acquired over

¹ Elliot's History of India, Vol. III, p. 77.

him, revolted. In the meantime Alla-ud-din died and was succeeded by his third son Mubarik. The opportunity was seized by Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāmacandra, who raised an insurrection and drove away some of the Mahomedan governors. In 1240 Saka or A. D. 1318 Mubarik marched to the Deccan in person to suppress the revolt. He took Harapāla prisoner and inhumanly flayed him alive.

Thus ended the last Hindu or Maratha monarchy of the Deccan, and the country became a province of the Mahomedan empire.

GENEALOGY OF THE LATER YADAVAS OR THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.



SECTION XVI.

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHAPUR.

THREE distinct families of chiefs or minor princes with the name of Śilāra or Śilahāra ruled over different parts of the country. They all traced their origin to Jimūtavāhana the son of Jimūtaketu, who was the king of a certain class of demigods called Vidyādharas, and who saved the life of a serpent named Śankha-cūḍa by offering himself as a victim to Garuda in his place.¹ One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was Tagarapuravarādhīśvara or "lords of Tagara, the best of cities," which fact has a historical significance. We have seen that Kāmvadeva, the donor of the Rajapur grant, who was a Cālukya, called himself Kalyānapuravarādhīśvara, and one of the titles of the later Kadambas after they had been reduced to vassalage, and of the rulers of Goa was Banavāspuravarādhīśvara. As these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power at Kalyāna and Banavāsi, so does Tagarapuravarādhīśvara show that the Śilahāras, who bore the title, belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara. In one Śilahāra grant it is expressly stated that "the race known by the name of Śilahāra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara."² As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian era, and retained its importance till a very late period, but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the Śilahāra kingdom with Tagara as its capital. Perhaps it existed between the close of the Āndhrabhritya period and the foundation of the Cālukya power.

The three Śilahāra dynasties of Mahāmāndalesvaras or dependent princes which we have been considering were founded

1 This story has been dramatized in the Sanskrit play Nāgānanda attributed to Śrī-Harṣa.

2 Grant translated by Dr. Taylor and published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. III. शिलाहारास्त्रवरशोधं नागनन्दमूर्त्तिः ।

in the times of the Rāstrakūṭas. One of them ruled over Northern Konkan, which was composed of fourteen hundred villages, the chief of them being Puri, which probably was at one time the capital of the province. As represented in an Inscription at Kanheri noticed before, Konkan was assigned to Pullaśakti by Amoghavarsa a few years before Śaka 775.

Another Śilāhāra family established itself in Southern Konkan. The founder or first chief named Śanaphulla enjoying the favour of Kṛṣṇarāja acquired the territory between the sea-coast and the Sahya range.¹ There were three Rāstrakūṭa princes of the name of Kṛṣṇarāja, but the one meant here must be the first prince of the name who reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era or between 753 and 775 A. D.² The genealogy of this dynasty is

1 Kharepatan plates, JBBRAS, Vol. I, p. 217. The name of the first chief is read "Jhallaphulla" by Bal Gangadhara Sāstri; but the first letter looks like ख though there is some difference. That difference, however, brings it nearer to श. The letter which was read by him as ख is clearly ण. For देशसंभाषने I find देशसंसाधने on the plates.

2 From Śanaphulla the first chief, to Raṭṭa the last, there are ten generations. Somehow each succeeding chief in this line happens to be the son of the preceding. Though in a line of princes some of whom bear to others the relation of brother or uncle, the average duration of each reign is from 19 to 21 years, the average duration of a generation is always much longer, and varies from 26 to 28 years. One can verify this by taking any line of princes or chiefs in the world. Raṭṭa was on the throne in Śaka 930, and supposing him to have begun to reign about that time, nine generations or about 27×9 years must have passed away from the date of the foundation of the family to Śaka 930. Subtracting $27 \times 9 = 243$ from 930, we have Śaka 687 as the approximate date of Śanaphulla. If we take the average to be 26, we shall have 696 as the date. In either cases, we are brought to the reign of Kṛṣṇa I. The dates of Kṛṣṇa II range from Śaka 797 to 833 and of Kṛṣṇa III from Śaka 862 to 881, and therefore neither of these will do. Even if we take the other average of a reign in the present case, and subtract $19 \times 9 = 171$ from 930, we get Śaka 759, which will not take us to the reign of Kṛṣṇa II whose earliest date is Śaka 797. The Kharepatan family therefore was the oldest of the three, and was founded in the reign of Kṛṣṇa I.

Bal Sāstri read the name of the last chief in the grant as Rahu; but the second syllable of the name is certainly not रु the form of which in the grant itself is different. It looks exactly like the ण in the word वरमट्टरक and आघट्टनानि which occur elsewhere in the grant.

given in the Kharepatan grant, the last prince mentioned in which was on the throne in Śaka 930 while the Cālukya king Satyāśraya was reigning. The capital must have been situated somewhere near Kharepatan.

The third Śilāhāra family the history of which falls within the scope of this paper ruled over the districts of Kolhapur, Miraj, and Karhad, and in later times Southern Konkan was added to its territory. This dynasty was the latest of the three and was founded about the time of the downfall of the Rāstrakūṭa empire, as will be hereafter shown. The first prince of the family was Jatiga, who was succeeded by his son Nāyimma or Nāyivarman. Nāyimma was followed by his son Candrarāja, and Candrarāja by his son Jatiga, who is called "the lion of the hill-fortress of Panhala."¹

Jatiga's son and successor was Gomka, otherwise called Gomkala or Gokalla. He is represented to have been the ruler of the districts of Karahāṭa-Kundi² and Mairīṅja and to have harassed Konkan. He had three brothers named Gūvala, Kirtirāja, and Candrāditya, of whom the first at least appears to have succeeded him. Then followed Mārasimha the son of Gomka, whose grant first published by Wathen is dated Śaka 980. He is represented to have constructed temples, and to have been reigning at his capital, the fort of Khiligili, which probably was another name Panhala in the Kolhapur districts. Mārasimha was succeeded by his son Gūvala and he by his brother Bhoja I. Bhoja's two brothers Ballāla and Gandarāditya governed the principality after him in succession.

An Inscription at Kolhapur mentions another brother named Gangadeva, and the order in which the brothers are spoken of, is Gūvala, Ganga, Ballāla, Bhoja and Gandarāditya.³ But the grants of Gandarāditya and Bhoja II agree in representing Bhoja

¹ See the grant of Gaṇḍarāditya published by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in JBBRAS, Vol. XIII, p. 2, of Mārasimha in JRAS, Vol. IV, p. 280, and Arch. Surv. W.I. No. 10, p. 102; and of Bhoja II, in Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom., Vol. III.

² Mārasimha's grant. Kundī or Kuhundī was some part of the Belgaum district, as stated before. Mairīṅja is Miraj.

³ Inscription No. 4, Major Graham's Report.

as the elder and Ballāla as the younger brother, and in omitting Ganga.

Of all these brothers the youngest Gandarāditya seems to have been the most famous. He is the donor, as indicated above, in the grant published by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji,¹ and in others recorded on stone at Kolhapur and in the districts. His dates are Śaka 1032, 1040, 1058.² He ruled over the country of Mirīñja along with the seven Khollas and over Konkan, which thus seems to have been subjugated by the Kolhapur Śilāhāras before 1032. Probably it was added to their dominions in the time of Gorika or soon after. From the grant of Bhoja II it appears that the part of Konkan ruled over by the Deccan Śilāhāras was the same as that which was in the possession of the family mentioned in the Kharepatan grant,³ wherefore it follows that the Śilāhāras of Southern Konkan were uprooted by their kinsmen of the Kolhapur districts.

Gandarāditya fed a hundred thousand Brahmans at Prayāga. This must be the place of that name which is situated near Kolhapur, and not the modern Allahabad. He built a Jaina temple at Ajara, a village in the Kolhapur districts,⁴ and constructed a large tank, called after him Gandasamudra or "the sea of Ganda," at Irukudi in the Miraj district, and on its margin placed idols of of Iśvara or Śiva, Buddha, and Arhat (Jina), for the maintenance of each of which he assigned a piece of land. Several other charities of his, in which the Jainas also had their share, are mentioned, and his bountiful nature as well as good and just government are extolled.⁵ He first resided at a place called Tiravāda and afterwards at Valavāta, which has been identified with the present Valavda.⁶

¹ In loc. cit.

² Bhagvanlal's plates, and Inscriptions Nos. 1, 2, and 3, Major Graham's Report. The Śaka in Bhagvanlal's grant and No. I of Major Graham's Inscriptions is the same, i. e. 1032, though in the translation of the latter it is erroneously given as 1037, but cyclic years are different. As to this see Appendix B.

³ For the village granted is Kaseli, which is near Jaitapur and Kharepatan.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 76, note.

⁵ His grant in loc. cit.

⁶ Bhagvanlal's plates and Major Graham's Inscriptions No. 2,

Gandarāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayārka, who was on the throne in Śaka 1065 and 1073.¹ He restored the chiefs of the territory about Thana to their principality which they had lost, and replaced the princes of Goa on the throne and fortified their position which had become shaky.² He assisted Vijjana³ in his revolt against his masters, the Cālukyas of Kalyāna, and enabled him to acquire supreme sovereignty. This event, as we have seen, took place about 1079 Śaka.

After Vijayārka, his son Bhoja II became Mahāmandaleśvara and reigned in the fort of Panhala. His dates are Śaka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, and 1127.⁴ He granted the village of Kaseli in Konkan near Kharepatan, on the application of his son Gandarāditya for feeding Brahmans regularly⁵; and gave lands for Hindu and Jaina temples in other places also. Two of the grantees in one case at Kolhapur are called Karahāṭakas, which shows that the caste of Karhada Brahmans had come to be recognized in those days; and two others bore the family name of Ghaisāsa, which is now found among Chitpvan Brahmans.⁶ In the reign of Bhoja II, a Jaina Pandit of the name of Somadeva composed in Śaka 1127 a commentary entitled Śabdārṇavacandrikā⁷ on Pūjyapāda's Sanskrit Grammar.

The Kolhapur chiefs enjoyed a sort of semi-independence. Vijjana, the new sovereign at Kalyāna, however, endeavoured

1 Ins. Nos. 4 and 5, Major Graham's Report.

2 Grant of Bhoja II in loc. cit.

3 In the transcript of the Inscription in Vol. IV, Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom. we have Viṣṇa for Vijjana. There is no question this must be a mistake of the reader of the Inscription or of the engraver. For the Kalacuri usurper at Kalyāna is called both Vijjala or Vijjana in his Inscriptions, and there was none who about the date of Vijayārka obtained the position of a Cakravartin or paramount sovereign, as stated in the Inscription.

4 Major Graham's Ins. Nos. 6, 7, 8, the grant, and Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 76, note.

5 There are, however, some mistakes here in the transcript of the grant and the sense is not clear, though it appears pretty certain that it was the village that was granted and not a field in it or anything else, from the fact that the boundaries of the village are given.

6 Ins. No. 8, Major Graham's Report.

7 Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 76, note. The Manuscript here mentioned is in the Deccan College Library and I have seen in it the colophon given in the note.

probably to establish his authority over Bhoja. But that chief was not content to be his feudatory, and to reduce him to subjection, Vijana marched against Kolhapur a little before his assassination in Śaka 1089.¹ On the establishment of the Devagiri Yādavas, Bhoja seems similarly to have assumed independence; but Singhana subdued him completely, and annexed the principality to the Yādava empire.²

The number of generations from Jatiga, the founder of the dynasty, to Gandarāditya is seven. The latest date of the latter is Śaka 1058 and the earliest of his successor Vijayārka is 1065; so that if we suppose Gandarāditya to have died in 1060 and allow about 27 years to each generation, we shall arrive at Śaka 871 as the approximate date of the foundation of the family. At that time the reigning Rāstrakūta sovereign was Kṛṣṇa III, the uncle of Kakkala, the last prince.

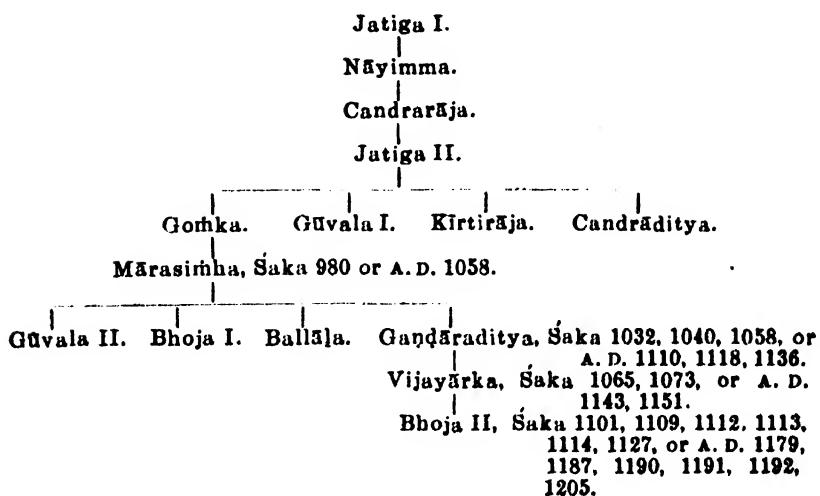
One of the many titles used by the Śilāhāras was Śrīman-Mahā-lakṣmi-labdha-vara-prasāda, i. e., "one who has obtained the favour of a boon from the glorious Mahālakṣmi." Mahālakṣmi was thus their tutelary deity, and they were clearly the followers of the Purānic and Vedic religion; but they patronized both Brahmins and Jainas alike; and their impartiality is strikingly displayed by the fact—noticed above—of Gandarāditya's having placed an idol of Buddha, whose religion had well nigh become extinct, along with those of the gods worshipped by the other two sects, on the margin of the tank dug by him.

There are at the present day many Maratha families of the name of Selara reduced to poverty, and the name Selaravadi of a station on the Railway from Khandala to Poona is also, I believe, to be traced to the family name of the sovereigns of Tagara.

¹ Vijalarāya Caritra in Wilson's Mackenzie MSS, p. 320.

² Sec. XV.

GENEALOGY OF THE SILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHAPUR



APPENDICES TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN.

APPENDIX A.

A NOTE ON THE GUPTA ERA.

IN order to render the chronologies of the different dynasties that ruled over Western and Northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era mutually consistent, it is necessary to discuss the initial date of the Gupta era. Albiruni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghizni in his invasion of Gujarat in the early part of the eleventh century, states that that era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years, and that it was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas. He mentions another era named after Balaba, the initial date of which was the same as that of the Guptas.

Now in some of the Inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their dependent chiefs, the dates are referred to Guptakāla or the Gupta era, wherefore Albiruni's statement that it was the epoch of their extermination cannot be true. This error is regarded as throwing discredit on his other statement, viz., that the era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years. But it has nothing whatever to do with it. Albiruni must have derived his knowledge of the initial date from contemporary evidence, since the era of the Guptas was, as stated by him, one of those ordinarily used in the country in his time, and as his statements regarding the initial dates of the Vikrama and the Śaka eras are true, so must that with reference to the Gupta era be true.

On the other hand, his information as regards the event which the Gupta era memorialized must have been based upon the tradition current among the Hindu astronomers of the day, who were his informants. Such traditions are often erroneous, as has been proved in many a case. Albiruni was also informed that the Śaka era was the epoch of the defeat of the Śaka king by Vikramāditya. This was the tradition as to its origin among Indian astronomers, though it has now given place to another. For Sodhala in his commentary on Bhāskarācārya's Karanakutūhala—a Manuscript of which more than four hundred years old exists in the collection made by me for Government

during 1882-83—tells us that “the epoch when Vikramāditya killed Mlechhas of the name of Sakas is ordinarily known as the Saka era.” But we know that in Mangalisa's Inscription at Badami it is spoken of as the era of the “Coronation of the Saka king”; that Ravikirti in the Inscription at Aihole describes it as the era of the Saka kings, and that, it is similarly represented in many other places. Albiruni's error therefore as regards the origin of the Gupta era no more invalidates his statement as to its initial date than his error about the origin of the Saka era does his statement about the initial date of that era.

The only reasonable course for us under the circumstances is to reject the statement as to the era being an epoch of the extermination of the Guptas and accept that about the initial date of the era. But some antiquarians reject both these statements and accept what simply hangs on them and what must fall with them, viz., that the Guptas were exterminated in Saka 242, and make elaborate endeavours to find an earlier initial date for the era. If the Inscriptions show that the era was not posthumous but contemporaneous, we should rather believe that the Guptas rose to power in Saka 242, assigning its due value to the statement of Albiruni, which must have been based on contemporary evidence, that the era began in that year. But if instead of that we declare that they ceased to reign in Saka 242, we in effect reject contemporary evidence and accept a mere tradition, which in so far as it represents the era to be posthumous, has been proved to be erroneous.

Again, Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era and of the Valabhi era was the same seems to some not “at all probable.” To my mind the improbability is not so great as to render valueless what clearly is contemporary evidence. We all know that the date occurring in a grant of one of the sons of the founder of the dynasty is 207, and we have a large number of grants of subsequent kings with dates posterior to this and in harmony with it. So that it is clear that these dates cannot refer to an era dating from the foundation of the dynasty. Such a long time as 207 years cannot be considered to have elapsed between the father who founded the dynasty and his son, even supposing him to have been a posthu-

mous son. The dates, therefore, are understood to refer to the Gupta era.

What, then, could have been the Valabhi era, if it was never used by the Valabhi princes during the 275 years or thereabouts of the existence of their dynasty? An era cannot receive the name of a certain line of princes unless used by those princes, at least on a few occasions, and enforced. The era used by the Valabhi princes must be the Valabhi era. One certainly would expect that it should be so. The only supposition, therefore, on which the whole becomes intelligible is that the era introduced by the Valabhis in Surāstra and used by them was called the Valabhi era by their subjects, and not one dating from the foundation of the dynasty; for such a one, we see, was not used by the Valabhi princes themselves. The era introduced and used by the Valabhis was that of the Guptas, whose dependents they were in the beginning, and hence Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta and Valabhi eras was the same is true. From an Inscription at Somanath discovered by Colonel Tod, we gather that Śaka 242 was the first year of the Valabhi era. Hence, therefore, the initial date of the Gupta era was 242 Śaka, as stated by Albiruni.

The question in this way is, I think, plain enough. Still since astronomical calculations have been resorted to, to prove the incorrectness of the date given by Albiruni and to arrive at an earlier one so as to place the extinction of the Gupta dynasty in Śaka 242, it is necessary to go into the question further. The following tests may be used and have been used to determine the correctness of a proposed initial date:—

1. The date of Budha Gupta's Pillar Inscription at Eran, which is Thursday, the 12th of Āśāḍha, in the Gupta year 165.
2. Rājā Hastin's Inscription dated 156 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter being Mahāvaiśākha.
- 3 Rājā Hastin's Inscription dated 173 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāśvayuja.
- 4 Rājā Hastin's Inscription dated 191 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahācaitra.
- 5 Rājā Samikṣobha's Inscription dated 209 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahaśvāyuja.
- 6 An Eclipse of the Sun mentioned in the Morvi copper-plate grant dated 5th Phālguna Sudi 585 of the Gupta era.

Before applying these tests to the initial date given by Albiruni, it must be premised that according to the Arabic author the Gupta era was 241 years posterior to the Śaka. To convert a Śaka date into a Valabhi date, or which is the same thing, into a Gupta date, he tells us to deduct from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5, that is, 241. And proceeding to give actual instances, he says 953 Śaka corresponds to 712 Valabhi or Gupta. We have thus to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date. Again, as I shall show in Appendix B, in Inscriptions the numerical date indicates, in a large number of instances, the number of years of an era that have elapsed, that is, the past year and in about a third of the instances, the current year. The year of the cycle, however, whenever it occurs, is as a rule the current year, though in rare cases that also is the past year. If, therefore, a past Gupta year is to be converted into the current Śaka year, we shall have to add 242 to the former; while if both are current or both past, the difference between them is only 241.

Now, as to the first of the above tests, Gupta $165 + 241 = 406$ Śaka. If Albiruni is correct, the 12th Āśādha Sudi of this year should be a Thursday. I asked my friend Professor Keru Lakshman Chatre to make the calculation for me, and he tells me that it was a Thursday. Since our astronomical methods are based on the past Śaka year, and even our present Śaka year 1805 really represents, as I shall show in the next Appendix, the years that have elapsed, the current year being really 1806, Gupta 165 was a past year, as well as Śaka 406. Hence only 241 has to be added. Śaka 406 corresponds to 484 A. D. General Cunningham takes the Gupta 165 to correspond to 483 A. D., adding $240 + 78 = 318$ to it, and of course arrives at the result that "the 12th day of Āśādha Sudi was a Friday instead of a Thursday." If, however, he had added $241 + 78 = 319$ and taken 484 A. D. to correspond to Gupta 165, he would have arrived at the correct result.

Then as to the dates in years of the 12-year cycle, General Cunningham himself has placed before us the means of verifying them. In the Tables published by him in Volume X of the Archæological Reports, the cyclic year corresponding to the current Christian year is given, and if we subtract 78 from the number representing the year, we shall arrive at the current Śaka year.

Now, if we take the Gupta figured dates to represent the years that had elapsed before the cyclic year commenced (and this way of marking the dates is, as remarked above, the one we usually find) then 173 Gupta, the third date in the above, corresponds to 414 Śaka past and 415 current, 241 being added in the first case, and 242 in the second. If we add 78 to 415 we shall get the current Christian year, which is 493. Now in General Cunningham's Tables we do find the year Mahāśvayuja given as corresponding to 493 A. D. In the same way, 191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Śaka current, + 78 = 511 A. D., current. In the Tables we find 511 put down under Mahācaitra. Similarly 209 Gupta past + 242 = 451 Śaka current, + 78 = 529 A. D. current which was Mahāśvayuja.

Now, as to the first of the dates in the 12-year cycle, 156 Gupta + 242 + 78 is equal to 476 A. D., which however is Mahācaitra instead of Mahāvaiśakha. Here there is a discrepancy of one year; but such discrepancies do sometimes occur even in Śaka dates and the years of the 60-years' cycle given along with them, and some of them will be noticed in the note forming the next Appendix. They are probably due to the fact that the frequent use of the past or expired year and also of the current year led sometimes the past year to be mistaken for the current year, just as we now mistake the year 1805 Śaka for the current year, though it really is the completed or past year. Thus the completed year 157 must, in the case before us, have come to be mistaken by the writer of the Inscription for the current year, and he thought 156 to be the past year and thus gave that instead of 157. Now 157 Gupta + 242 + 78 = 477 A. D., which is Mahāvaiśakha, according to the Tables.¹

The eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate occurred, according to my friend Professor Keru Lakshman, on the 30th of Vaiśakha,

I Though by using General Cunningham's Table, I arrive at the desired result in three cases, still I now find that his current Christian year is derived by adding 78 to the past Śaka, while I have added 79; i. e., the cyclic year given in the dates is true not of the Gupta year in the date as a past year but of the Gupta year + 1 as a past year. And the third date 173 Gupta is a correction of General Cunningham's, the actual date in the Inscription being 163. I have, however, allowed the paragraphs to remain, as I am by no means quite satisfied that the question of these cyclic dates is settled beyond dispute. (1894).

Saka 827. The Gupta year given in the plate is 585. If 827 is in the astronomical calculation the current year, it must correspond to 585 Gupta past; for $585 + 242 = 827$. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the eclipse occurred on the new-moon day immediately previous to the 5th of Phālguna Sudi mentioned in the grant. For it is perfectly possible that the actual religious ceremony with reference to the grant was made in Vaisākha and the deed executed in Phālguna.¹

I have thus shown that Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era stands all these tests. It may even be said that it stands them better than 167 A. D. and 190 A. D. proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley respectively. But I am loath to decide such questions simply on astronomical grounds; for there are several very confusing elements involved, and a modern astronomer cannot know them all and make allowance for them.

It now remains to notice the last point relied on by the opponents of Albiruni. The date on a copper-plate grant by the last Śilāditya of Valabhi hitherto known is 447. This Śilāditya is also styled Dhrūbhāṭa in the grant and has been identified with the Tu-lu-va-po-tou or Dhruvabhāṭa of Hwan Thsang who visited Valabhi in 640 A. D. The date 447 is understood as referring to the Gupta era, and, 319 being added it, corresponds to 766 A. D. It has therefore been argued that an earlier initial date must be assigned to the Gupta era so as to bring this Śilāditya or Dhrūbhāṭa nearer to the date of Hwan Thsang's visit.

But the identification of the last Śilāditya with Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhata cannot stand. In the Si-yu-ki the Chinese writer does not speak of a king but of kings, and says they were nephews of Śilāditya of Malwa and the younger of them named Dhruvabhata was son-in-law to the son of Harsavardhana. If they were nephews of the king of Malwa they were brothers and both of them kings. Now, the predecessor of the last Śilāditya of Valabhi was his

1 There was an eclipse also in Saka 826 on the new-moon day of Kārttika; so that Gupta 585 past + 241 = 826 Saka. This is evidently the eclipse mentioned in the grant and not that mentioned in the text. On the whole question see my paper on the Epoch of the Gupta era, JBBRAS, Vol. XVII, pp. 80 ff.

father, and among the kings of Valabhi we do not find brothers reigning in succession at this period. There were two brothers who occupied the throne before this period, one of them being named Dharasena and the other Dhruvasena. They were the sons of Kharagraha, and the younger of them was the father and predecessor of Dharasena IV. This younger brother or Dhruvasena must have been Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhaṭa. Nothing important is involved in the suffix *Bhaṭa*. It was a mere title or honorific termination as Pant and Rao are among us the Marathas. Sena, Siṁha, and *Bhaṭa* were the Valabhi honorific endings and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasena may have been called Dhruvabhaṭa by ordinary people, from whom Hwan Thsang must have got the name. Now, a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena bears the date 310, and the earliest date of his successor Dharasena IV, is 326. The first corresponds to 629 A. D. ($310 + 241 + 78 = 629$), and the second to 645 ($326 + 241 + 78 = 645$). It is quite possible, therefore, that Dhruvasena was on the throne in 640 A. D. at the time when Hwan Thsang visited Valabhi.

The initial date mentioned by Albiruni is thus consistent with everything with which it has been thought to be not consistent. I have shown that the statement of the Arabic writer is in itself entitled to our confidence, being based, as it must have been, on contemporary evidence, as his statements about the Śaka and Vikrama eras were. I will now show that the date mentioned by him is alone consistent with the information we possess as regards the relations of the several dynasties that ruled over Gujarat and Kathiawad in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the dates proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley are not.

We know that the Guptas succeeded the Satraps, and the Valabhis were at first dependents of the Guptas and afterwards attained independence. Candragupta II must have been the Gupta prince who overthrew the Satraps, since he is the first prince of that dynasty whose silver coins are a close imitation of those of the Satraps. The latest date of that monarch is 93. This corresponds to 260 A. D., and 283 A. D., on the supposition that the Gupta era took its start in 167 A. D., and 190 A. D., respectively.

Now, the latest date of the Satrap dynasty is 304. If the era to which it refers is the Saka, it corresponds to 382 A. D., that is, we shall have to suppose one of the princes of the dynasty to have reigned about a hundred years after the dynasty had been put an end to by Candragupta II. The Saka era will therefore not do. Supposing the Satrap dates refer to the Vikrama era, 304 corresponds to 248 A. D., which of course is consistent with Candragupta's date 260 A. D. or 283 A. D. If then the Satrap dates refer to the era of Vikrama, Rudradāman's 72 must correspond to 16 A.D., Rudradāman's grandfather Castana will have to be placed about B. C. 4. But Ptolemy, writing after 150 A. D., tells us that Ujjayinī was ruled over about the time when he wrote by Tiastenes, who has been very reasonably identified with Castana. Ptolemy's information cannot certainly be 150 years old.

It has, however, been argued that Ptolemy does not state that Tiastenes reigned about the time when he lived, and that he and Siro Polemios were contemporaries. For, he gives the information in the form of two short notes, "Ozone, the royal residence of Tiastenes," and "Baishana, the royal residence of Siro Polemios." Such notes it is possible that one should write even if the princes reigned several hundred years before him, as a modern geographer may mention Berlin as "the capital of Frederick the Great," or Ghizni as "the capital of Mahmud." As to this I have to observe that the analogy does not hold good. A modern geographer and his readers are very well acquainted with past history, while neither Ptolemy nor those for whom he wrote could have known the past history of India. A modern geographer knows which of the princes that ruled over a certain country in past times was the ablest or most powerful, and selects him out of a number and mentions his name in connection with a certain place. It is extremely improbable or almost impossible that Ptolemy should have known many Indian princes who reigned before he lived, along with their achievements, and should have chosen the ablest of them for being mentioned. And, as a matter of fact, we know that one at least of the rulers mentioned by him could be a person of no importance. For Baleocuros who according to him held power in Hippocura, was, as we have seen, but a Viceroy or dependent of Pułumāyi and Gotamiputra Yajñā Śrī, since as

Vilivāyakura his name occurs along with those of the two princes on the Kolhapur coins. Again, Ptolemy must have derived his information from merchants carrying on trade with India, and these, from the natives of the country. And we know that natives of India care very little for past history and soon forget their kings. Hence the information derived by the merchants cannot have reference to princes who reigned long before the time of Ptolemy. It is possible that Indians may remember a celebrated prince for a century or two. But, as stated above, one of the rulers mentioned by Ptolemy was but a dependent sovereign and could not have been a man of note. The only other supposition that our opponents may resort to, is that Ptolemy's statements were based on those of previous geographers whose contemporaries the princes mentioned by him were. No ground whatever has been adduced in support of such a supposition. In the Periplus which was written before Ptolemy, Paithana and Ozene are mentioned, but Polemios and Tiastenes are not. On the contrary, the author of that work says that Ozene was "formerly the capital wherein the king resided." If Tiastenes lived before him, and Ptolemy's mention of the former was due to his having been a prince of note like Frederick the Great and Mahmud of Ghizni in modern times, we should expect the author of the Peirplus to have noticed him, especially when he does allude to the kings of Ozene. Tiastenes, Polemios and Baleocuros must thus have reigned about the time of Ptolemy. The last two were, we know, contemporaries, and so also must the third have been.

In this manner the Vikrama era will not do for the Satrap dates. Besides, no trace whatever has hitherto been discovered of the use of that era in the early centuries of Christ. Since, then, the use of no other era at the time has been well authenticated, the Satraps must be supposed to have employed the Śaka era. The circumstances of the country at that period render, as I have shown, the establishment of this era by the Śakas who ruled over the country in every way probable. The latest Satrap date will thus correspond to 382 A. D., and Chandragupta, the conqueror of the Satraps, can be rendered posterior to this only by taking 242 Śaka current or 319-320 A. D. as the first current year of the

Gupta era ; for his 93 past will then correspond to 412-413 A. D. And in this way Rudradāman's 72 will correspond to 150 A. D.; and Castana's date will be about 130 A. D., i. e. anterior to the date of Ptolemy's geography by about 25 years.

Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming.

APPENDIX B.

A NOTE ON THE ŚAKA DATES AND THE YEARS OF THE BĀRHASPATYA CYCLE OCCURRING IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.

There are certain difficulties with reference to the Śaka dates and the cyclic years or Saṁvatsaras occurring in the Inscriptions which require to be cleared up. The current Śaka year (A. D. 1883-84) in the Bombay Presidency is 1805, and the year of the sixty years' cycle, Subhānu. In the Southern Provinces and the Madras Presidency the current Śaka year is 1806, the cyclic year being the same. The first question, then, is, " Do the dates in the Inscriptions conform to the Bombay reckoning or the Madras reckoning ? " and the next, " What is the cause of this difference of a year ? "¹ We have also to consider whether the Śaka dates in the Inscriptions represent the number of years that have expired before the event recorded in them, or the current year in which the event took place.

Mr. Robert Sewell of the Madras Civil Service gives in the first column of the Chronological Tables compiled by him the number of the Śaka years that have expired before the beginning of the cyclic year set against it in the same line in the third column. The current Śaka year corresponding to that cyclic year, is the one given in the next line in the first column. Thus against Śaka 855, the date of the Sangali grant of Govinda IV of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty, we have in the third column, the cyclic year Vijaya, which shows that 855 years of the Śaka era had expired before the Vijaya year began, while the current Śaka year corresponding to Vijaya was that given in the next line, viz. 856. Mr. Sewell follows the Madras reckoning. If we interpret the tables

1 It will be obvious to any careful reader that the manner in which the question here proposed for solution is stated, is based upon the ordinary view that Śaka 1805 was the current year in 1883-84. I have no right to assume in the beginning of my inquiry that the ordinary view is mistaken, and it would be unscientific to do so. But having stated the question in that manner, I come at the end of my inquiry to the conclusion that the ordinary view is incorrect, and that 1805 Śaka was not current in 1883-84 A. D. but past, and that the Madras way of understanding the matter alone is correct. In the previous note also I have stated that " we now mistake the year 1805 Śaka for the current year " (in 1883-84); so that there is no possibility whatever of anybody misunderstanding my meaning.

according to the Bombay mode, the Śaka year appearing in the first column will be the current year corresponding to the cyclic year in the same line in the third column, while the number in the line immediately above will represent the years that have expired before the beginning of that cyclic year. Thus against 1805, the current Śaka year on this side of the country, we have in the third column the current cyclic year Subhānu, while 1804 in the line above shows the number of years that have expired. By comparing the Śaka dates and cyclic years occurring in the Inscriptions with those in the Tables we shall be able to determine the points raised above.

In the analysis of Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Kanarese Inscriptions published by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess, there are 97 cases in which the Śaka date as well as the cyclic year are distinctly given. On comparing these with the tables I observe that in 58 out of these the given Śaka date occurs in the same line with the cyclic year mentioned in the Inscription. These are :—

Nos. 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 52, 70, 87, 88, 90, 92, 98, 99, 101, 102, 109, 114, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136, 141, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 183, 189, 201, 214, 215, 219, 229, 230 (first part), 240, 241, 243, 283, 286.

Thus in Inscription No. 20, the date given is 1200, and the cyclic year the Bahudhānya, both of which occur in the same line set against each other in the tables.

In 28 cases the Śaka date given in the Inscription occurs in the tables in the line below that in which the given cyclic year occurs. These are :—

Nos. 19, 22, 26, 33, 34, 47, 72, 89, 91, 95, 96 (first part), 96 (second part), 100, 110, 111, 112, 118 (first part), 118 (second part), 146, 151, 194, 227, 230 (second part), 231, 234, 236, 237, 281.

In No. 19, for instance, the Śaka date is 1184 and the cyclic year Durmati. In the Tables, Durmati occurs in the upper line set against 1183, and 1184 is in the line below, and Dundubhi is the year marked against it.

Now on the supposition that the Inscriptions conform to the Madras reckoning, in the first 58 cases the Śaka date represents the number of Śaka years that had expired before the current cyclic year of the Inscription, and in 28 it shows the current year of that era. If we suppose the Bombay reckoning to have been in use, the dates in the first 58 cases will represent the current

year, and those in the next 28, the future year and not the past. But since it is almost absurd to suppose that the immediately next year should be stated in the Inscriptions, it follows that the Madras mode of reckoning was the one in use. The objection, however, may be obviated by supposing that these 28 cases conform to the Madras reckoning and give the current year, while the first 58 follow the Bombay mode. But this supposition is not reasonable or probable, since these groups are not confined to particular provinces, and often one of the former exists in the same district or even place with one of the latter. We thus see that though in the majority of cases the Inscriptions give the past Śaka year, there is a large number in which the current year is given and not the past.

I have also compared other dates with the Tables, and the result I give below :—

	Saka date.	Cyclic year.	What the Śaka date represents.
Kanarese grant of Govinda III, Rāstrakūṭa	726	Subhānu	Current year.
Radhanpur grant of do. ...	730	Sarvajit	Do.
Kṛṣṇa II or Akālavarsa, comple- tion of the Jaina Purāṇa ...	820	Pīngala	Do.
Do., in a Jaina temple by Ci- kārya	824	Dundubhi	Years elapsed.
Govinda IV, Sangali grant ...	855	Vijaya	Do.
Kakkala, Karda grant ...	894	Āṅgiras	Do.
Tailapa's accession ...	895	Śrimukha	Do.
Satyāśraya, Kharepatan plates of Raṭṭa	930	Kilaka	Do.
Jayasimha Jagadekmalla, Miraj grant	946	Raktāksi	Do.
Mārasimha Silahāra of Kolhapur grant	980	Vilambin	Do.
Gaṇḍarāditya Silahāra of Kolha- pur, Ins. No. I.	1032	Vikṛti	Years elapsed.
Do. Do. grant trans- lated by Pandit Bhagvanlal...	1032	Virodhin	Current year.
Do. Kolhapur Ins. No. 2...	1040	Vilambin	Years elapsed.
Vijayārka do. do. No. 4...	1065	Dundubhi	Current year.
Someśvara III, Bhūlokamalla, Abhilāśita Cintāmaṇi ...	1051	Saumya	Years elapsed.
Bhojadeva II, Kolhapur Ins. No. 6...	1101	Vilambin	Current year.
Do. do. " No. 8...	1112	Śadhbṛapa	Years elapsed.
Do. Dr. Taylor's grant...	1113	Virodhin	Do.
Do. Kolhapur Ins. No. 8.	1114	Paridhāvin...	Do.
Singhāṇa Yādava, Khedrapur Ins.	1136	Śrīmukha	Current year.
Kāmvadeva Cālukya ...	1182	Raudra	Years elapsed.
Mahādeva Yādava, Pandharpur Ins.	1192	Pramoda	Do.
Rāmacandra Yādava, Thana ...	1194	Āṅgiras	Do.
Do. do. do. ...	1212	Virodhin	Current year.

Out of these 24 dates, eight give the current year and the rest the years that had expired, the proportion being the same as in the other case, viz. 1 to 2. In all cases in which the cyclic year is given it is possible to determine whether the date represents the current or past year, but not in others. The Inscriptions of the early Cālukyas do not give it, and hence the exact date remains doubtful.

Now the Bombay mode of reckoning, which is one year behind that prevalent in Madras, is, I believe, due to a mistake. We have seen it was more usual in recording a date to mark the years that had expired than the current year. A word expressive of that sense such as Gatesu, "having elapsed," was used after the number, and another such as Pravartamāne, "being current," was used in connection with the name of the cyclic year. These words were, for brevity's sake, afterwards dropped; and in the course of time, the sense, to express which they were used, was also forgotten, and the number came to be regarded as denoting the current year. So that what we do on this side of the country is that we use the past or expired year without knowing that it is past year.

And there are in the Inscriptions instances of mistakes due to the circumstance that the real past year came to be regarded as the current year. Thus in No. 86 of the Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Kanarese Inscriptions, Śaka 911 is given along with the cyclic year Vikṛti. Now, according to the Tables, the number of years that had expired before Vikṛti was 912 and the current year was 913. This discrepancy is to be explained by the supposition that Śaka 912 which represented the years that had expired came to be thought of as the current year, just as we, on this side of the country, consider 1805 as the current year now, though it indicates the past year, and the writer of the Inscription wishing to give the years that had expired before his current year, put them as 911. The same is the case with the Nos. 27, 67, 115, 130, 224, and 284, the Śaka dates in which are 1444, 1084, 1430, 1453, 1114, and 1128, respectively, and are two years behind the current year as determined by the cyclic years given along with them.

In some cases the Śaka dates are in advance of the Saṁvatsara or cyclic year by one year. Thus in the Vani-Dindori grant of

Govind III, the Śaka date is 730 and the Saṁvatsara Vyaya, and in the Kanheri Inscription of Amoghavarṣa, we have Śaka 775 and the Prajāpati Saṁvatsara. Now the Śaka years immediately preceding Vyaya and Prajāpati were 728 and 773, while the current years were 729 and 774 respectively. This difference might be accounted for on the supposition that the current years 729 and 774 were from the usual custom understood to be past years and the writers of the documents desirous of giving the current years added 1 and put them down as 730 and 775. The date in No. 79 of Pali, Sanskrit, and Old Kanarese Inscriptions is three years behind the current Saṁvatsara, and that in No. 228, four years; No. 221 has 1113 for 1121; and No. 246, 1492 for 1485. These must be considered to be mistakes.

The Śaka dates given in the preceding pages represent in *most* cases the years that had expired before the particular occurrences mentioned. Thus "in 855" means *after 855 years of the Śaka era had expired.*

APPENDIX C.

INTRODUCTION TO HEMĀDRI'S VRATAKHANDA.

In the critical notes D. represents the MS. in the Deccan College Library, No. 234 of A. 1881-82; D. 2. another recently added to the Collection; S. the MS. belonging to the old Sanskrit College, No. 657; Kh. the MS. belonging to Khasgivale, and G. the MS. procured by Gangadhar Sastri Datar. See Section XIV, first page, note 2.

* श्रीगोपालमपार्वतेभवस्तुरुद्गुन्दिलान्तय
 मान्द्रक्षिण्यतमालकेमद्दृश्यामापिगमाहीमूर्ख ।
 कूजत्कंकिलकामिनीकलवृष्ट्याभिगोपालना-
 गीनस्फीतप्रविचिवचिनवार्त्त नमस्कृप्तंह ॥ १ ॥
 उन्मीलकमनीयकान्तिसरसीमैय विवृद्धप्रभं
 मागासागविचारचारुमनसा हंसेन मंसेविमूर्ख ।
 नित्यानन्दरागगमक्षमुभयं वन्दाहृद्वन्द्वरण-
 श्रागीभूमपनक्षेत्रिचरणाभेनद्वयं पात् वै ॥ २ ॥

- * These two stanzas exist only in a mutilated form in S. and D. 2, but they occur fully in D. and Kh. which contain the shorter Praśasti. In G. which contains both the Praśastis mixed together, they occur at the head of the shorter one, so that they appear to belong to the latter rather than to the other.

? सुख for भृत् D. Kh. ३ नः for वः D. Kh.

Rājapraśasti I.

१ जायन्त्र० S. जीवन्त्र० G. २ ऋत्य० S. नुत्य० G. ३ मानो० G. मानो० S. ४ प्रताप० for प्रथाप० G. ५ रथ० for पथ० S. D2. ६ जन० S. D2. जसि० G. for जनि०

नृपतिर्य यगातिः रुद्धानिमानप्यमुष्मा-
 दग्धमपि यद्ग्रूमूर्तिं कीर्तिमाविश्रकार ॥ ५ ॥
 यदोर्दोषविश्रैर्यशाभिरभिशोभिनः ।
 अन्वयायः स एवायमवाप्य यद्गुणंशताम् ॥ ६ ॥
 ततः कोटा तस्माद्जनि वृजिनीवानपि नृप-
 सनतो जडे गडः क्षितिपतिरिह स्वाहित इति ।
 नृशङ्कुस्त्वयुव्रः समभवद्यथो चित्ररथ इ-
 त्यतो जातः रुद्धातः स किल शशबिन्दुरपतिः ॥ ७ ॥
 ततैः पृथुभ्राता वीरस्तदनन्तरमन्तरः ।
 ततः सुयज्ञ उशनाः सिंतयुगिति च क्रमाद् ॥ ८ ॥
 सूर्यस्तस्य मरुन इन्यनुपमः प्रोद्धामद्वैर्विक्रम-
 स्तस्मात्कम्भलवहिरुज्जवलयशः प्रक्षालितक्षमातलः ।
 इनस्माद्वृद्धियाय रुक्मकवचस्तस्मात्पराजिन्दृष-
 स्तस्माद्गृहिण्युरंगमेष्टसुकृती गजाननि ज्यामयः ॥ ९ ॥
 ततो विदर्भः क्रयकुन्निन्द्रुष्णिनिवृत्तिसंज्ञाः परबो दशार्हः ।
 व्योमा च जामूर्त इति क्रमेण जाता नरेन्द्रा विकृतिश्र वीरः ॥ १० ॥
 तद्वत् भीमरथः पृथिवीपानिर्वरयंश्र ततो गथिनां वरः ।
 दशरथः शकुनिश्च करभिरित्युपविशन्ति पुराणपरायणाः ॥ ११ ॥
 देवराजस्ततः भीमान्देवक्षेत्रस्ततो मधुः ।
 ततः कुरुवले गाँजा पुरुहोत्रः क्रमादभूत् ॥ १२ ॥
 अथायुरासीद्वथ सांत्वनोभूदयान्धकोस्माद्जमानसंज्ञाः ।
 विद्युरथस्तवतोपि शुरगाशः प्रतिक्षेप इति क्षिरीशः ॥ १३ ॥
 वभूवाय स्वयंभोजस्ततोपि हविकोभवत् ।
 अमूर्त सोपि धर्मात्मा राजानं देवमीद्युभूम् ॥ १४ ॥
 निखिलानिःशेषितवैरिपूरस्ततः क्षिति पालयति स्म शूरः ।
 ततोपि राजा वसुदेवनामा यो विशेषेतोरपि हेतुरासीद् ॥ १५ ॥
 घृन्दारघृन्दारकघृन्दमलिमन्दारमालाघृरभीकृताङ्गः ।
 आसीद्मुष्मावसुगवतारभारपहाराय पुरा मुरारिः ॥ १६ ॥

१ मूर्तिः S. D 2. मूर्तिं G. २ स्याहित S. स्ताहित G. ३ यशः S. G. ४ मेष्टि S. G.
 ५ व्योभावृ S. व्योभाय G. व्योभाद्व D 2. ६ देवराजः D 2. ७ नाम for राजा G. ८ सत्वतो D 2.
 ९ ०न्धकस्या० G. S. १० So both MSS, also D 2. But there must be a mistake.
 The name of Sūra's son शोणि is disguised as राशि. Perhaps the reading is
 शूरशोणि. ११ पुरा मुरारिः S. पुरारिः D. २.

४ भूत्र दशुः कित कृसुमधन्वा मधुरिणः-
 लिलोकीवीर्गं सो तनयमनिकद्धं प्रसुचुषं ।
 तनो भूभूत्यक्षपणनिषुणेन्व भहसा
 परिकृजन्त्वाङ्गः शनयावसखः प्रादृग्भवत् ॥ १७ ॥
 व वस्य मूरुः प्रतिशाहुरासीहामि कृतक्षमापनिचकवालः ।
 तनंपि सश्राद्भवत्सुवाहुः प्रामृतं सायं अतुर्गत्वान् ॥ १८ ॥
 तेन ते सार्वंभूमन तनया विनयान्विताः ।
 विभज्य वसुधाचक्षं चकिरे पृथिवीश्वरः ॥ १९ ॥
 यथाविभागं वसुधामडाशो तंशो तदा पालयता अतुणाम् ।
 इदप्रहारी दिशि उक्षिणस्यो प्रभुर्भूत्र प्रथमात्कनीयान् ॥ २० ॥
 सर्वंपि पृथं मधुगधिनाथाः कृष्णादितो द्वात्मवीश्वरस्ते ।
 मुशाहमृनागनु दक्षिणाशापशासिनो यादववंशवीराः ॥ २१ ॥
 तनः स गजा निजराजयानीमधिष्ठितः शीनगं गरीयः ।
 लंभ सुतं सउग्णचन्द्रसज्जं यत्संज्ञया सउग्णद्वजामाहुः ॥ २२ ॥
 अथ धाडियसो महीपानिस्तनयस्तस्य व भूत्र भिल्लमः ।
 अजनिष्ट ततोपि गजगिस्तद्वुः प्रादृग्भूत्वं वादृगिः ॥ २३ ॥
 जडे धाडि यमस्तनः प्रमिभट्टक्षमापालकालानल-
 स्तरमादाविभूत्यभूतर्विभवो भती भुवो भिल्लमः ।
 एतस्मान्महसो महानिधिरसो श्रीविष्णुगिर्जंजित्वा
 हन्ता भीष्मभूजाजसाभसुहृदां तस्मावध्वरजुनः ॥ २४ ॥
 अजस्त्रमाविभृतद्वानवारिः प्रभुत्वहस्ताविनद्वानवारिः ।
 तनः स गजा विरगज राजश्रियो विलासिनितगतगजः ॥ २५ ॥
 आसीद्विलासी नृपनेमुष्मान्तं भिल्लमः पल्लविनोरुक्तीनिः ।
 स वादृगिः स्वादृगिग कवीनो स्तोत्रंकपोत्रं भवति स्म तस्मात् ॥ २६ ॥
 ततो महीं महीरालः पालयामात वसुगिः ।
 ११ सहनप्रोद्यद्वापथामसामन्तसंततिः ॥ २७ ॥
 ततोपि नृपभिल्लमः समरसीमर्मीमकिया-
 निर्गलभूजागर्लायुगलकाललीलात्रयः ।

? स्व for एव D2. २ परिकृजन्त्वान्यः S.; G. totally incorrect and there is a lacuna. D2. has वज्यः for वन्य of S. ३. The Purāṇic genealogy ends here. Subāhu, however, is there called Sucāru. ४ वायवात् D2. ५ गजुगिस्तद्वुत D2. ६ स वाहुगिः S. सुवाहुदृगः G. ७ This is the reading of S., D2 and G. probably for धाडियस. But the name according to Pandit Bhagvanlal's grant was धाडियष्ट. ८ S. and G. have a wrong and unintelligible reading here. ९ पाद S. पात्रि G. for पात्रं. १० The visarga is dropped in S. and G. ११ सहन D2.

ततः समद्वैशिरीपतिपन्नाभूषणः
 प्रतापशिखिलकूनविजगद्गृणः सउणः ॥ २८ ॥
 समुद्रतो येन महाभुजेन द्विषा विमर्त्यरमदिक्षः ।
 आस्थापि शालुक्यकुलप्रतीपः कल्याणराज्येषि स एव येन ॥ २९ ॥
 परमदेवः स ततो बभूव द्विषद्वृष्टेवयनाभूदृटी ।
 प(े) रम्मदेवेव रुचा चयेन यस्य प्रतापेन चिर अगामि ॥ ३० ॥
 तस्माद्वन्नरमनन्नभूजप्रतापः क्षेणीपतिः समभवत्स ह सिंहराजः ।
 तस्याद्वन्नरमनन्नभूजप्रतापः क्षेणीपतिः विजगतीविजयी स राजा ॥ ३१ ॥
 लक्ष्मीपुरात्मानीय कर्णनिलकं गजम् ।
 स कर्णवनं पूर्णमकरोपायरमदिनः ॥ ३२ ॥
 तस्माद्वप्तिमल्लोभूमलगिर्वद्भः क्षितेः ।
 उद्गृष्मत जम्भारिभूरिदिवैष्टचिष्टमा ॥ ३३ ॥
 आसाद सद्यः रवनिशासहतोः श्रीपर्णस्वेदं नगरं रिपुम्यः ।
 ११ अहारि येनोत्कलभूमिपाताद्वृत्तङ्गमातङ्गथटा हठेन ॥ ३४ ॥
 तस्माद्वप्तगांडः तंशभूव भूवः पतिः ।
 अथाविन्दित गोविन्दराजः राजाज्यसंपत्तम् ॥ ३५ ॥
 १३ तनो मल्लगिपुओभूद्वृपालोमग्निगिः ।
 अथ कालीयश्वालः पालयामास मेत्रिनीम् ॥ ३६ ॥
 महीपतेस्तस्य विहाय पुत्राद् युणा नुरक्ता यद्वंशलक्ष्मीः ।
 श्रीभिल्लमं तस्य तनः पिन्द्रव्यमध्याजगजाद्वृजमाजगाम ॥ ३७ ॥
 १४ यः श्रीवर्थनमाससाद् नगरं क्षेणीपतेऽतलात्
 यः प्रत्येष्टकभूमृनं च समे दुष्टं व्यजेष्ट क्षणात् ।
 यो वा मङ्गलवेष्टकं क्षितिपतिं श्रीभिल्लणं जघ्निवान्
 कल्याणश्रियमध्यवाप्य विद्धेयो हांसलेशं व्यसुम् ॥ ३८ ॥

१ S. G. have लंधितः विजग० २ समुद्रतो D2. ३ ब्रतः for घना S. G. ४ Here S. ends, and the following is based on G. and D2, of which the former is, as I have already observed, an extremely incorrect Manuscript. ५ ०प्रतापं G. ६ सहि सिहि G. ७ This word in G. must be some mistake as it has no significance here. D 2. has नुयाम् which also a mistake. ८ नन्दितः for मदिनः G. ९ G. has मुल्लगि० १० स्वनिशास is सनिशाह in G. ११ आहारि D 2. १२ मुल्लगि D 2. १३ ०लैपर० D 2. १४ स D2. for यः १५ रंसलात् for रंतलात् G. १६ वाज्ञिण for विल्लणं G. १७ G. has षम् and D 2. दरसं for दृसं.

स उज्जिकामङ्गलमण्डयित्रीपकष्टसंपत्प्रभैविनासैः ।
 चक्रं पुरं देवागोरि॒ गिरिशप्रसाद॑संसादितदिष्ठशक्तिः ॥ ३९ ॥
 तदनु॒ मद्भन्धूनिः कानिकीचन्द्रसन्द-
 युनिविशद्यशेभिः शोभिताशावकाऽः ।
 अभवद्वचिपात्मो जेत्रपालः कगलः
 प्रहृणाणरक्षत्तद्वुक्ष्यद्वः ॥ ४० ॥
 शीक्षिता रणकृद्यथर्वनं प्रावस्त्रावस्त्रुतः
 अग्निभिर्जगतीपनीकृतवता येन प्रवापानले ।
 निष्ठाप्तिपतेः पशोविदसनं गेद्रस्य रीद्राहृतेः
 कृत्वा पृष्ठमेधयात्तिथिना लघ्वस्त्रिलोकाजयः ॥ ४१ ॥
 तस्माद्भूत्विनवस्त्रमध्यारूपनिः
 कर्त्तेः पदे॒ स किल सिद्धृण्डश्वभूपः ।
 उद्दण्डदोर्युगलगविनवैरिवीर-
 सीमनिवीद्वनकेरवचण्डभानुः ॥ ४२ ॥
 येनानीयन बनवारणथटा जज्ञाभूत्विभूतः
 कहूलावृद्धीपतेगपह्वना येनाविगड्यभिः ।
 येन क्षोणीभूद्युतेवि॒ चलिना नीनः कथाइशरना
 येनोद्वामयुतेन भोजमृपतिः काराकृदुर्घीहृः ॥ ४३ ॥
 यद्वग्निरिकेसरी॒ विनिहने॑ लक्ष्मीधरः क्षमायनि-
 यद्वाहावालिभिः प्रसद्य रुप्ये धारापर्गार्थधरः ।
 वद्वालक्षिनिपाल्पातिनभुवा॒ सर्वापदारथ्य
 श्वसित्वस्य महीपतेविजयते नद्वाक्लीलायिनम् ॥ ४४ ॥
 हृष्णो॒ भद्रोद्व॒ इति॒ प्रतीतो॒ जातो॒ तनः॒ सिंहमृपम्य॒ पांत्रो॒ ।
 तयोम्भू॒ पूर्वप्रभवः॒ पुरस्तात्॒ हृष्णोत्तिविश्वद्यात्मनिर्वृपामृत ॥ ४५ ॥
 येनाकारि॒ विशालर्व॒ सलच्छ्रुत्वाहाकालानले
 हेलोन्मूलिनमूलराजसमे॒ निर्वीर्मूर्तीतलम् ।
 येनानेकमहाफलकृतुकृता॒ संवर्ध्यमानानिशं
 क्षीणः॒ कालवशात्पुनर्लक्षणता॒ धर्मांपि॒ संप्रापिनः ॥ ४६ ॥
 तनः॒ हृष्णो॒ गजव्यमतहृषीचामरमह-
 नरवृक्षनहृः॒ त्रिवि॒ किमपि॒ तेजः॒ भिनवानि ।

१ In the MSS. we have प्रसादमातादित०. २ G. has विकाशः for अवकाशः ३ रण-
 रंगस्तुगुलंग, D 2. ४ तद्विग्न in G. ५ गेद्रस्य ought to be कद्रस्य, unless the son of
 Rudradeva is meant. ६ कर्त्तिः for मूर्तिः D. 2. ७ This line is thus written in G.
 सीमनिवीद्वनकेरवचण्डभानु; also in D 2, except त for last न॒ < यद्वग्नि� G. ९ विनि-
 कृतो G. १० लालित for पालित G. ११ यद्वाल G. १२ क्षीणे G.

परिग्राना धूमेः समजनि जगजित्यरमहा
 महादेवः सेवारसिकसकलक्षमधृतदुनः ॥ ५७ ॥
 निलङ्घक्षिनिपालनूलभित्यप्रक्षेपचण्डानिलो
 गर्जदूर्जरगर्वपर्वतभिद्वभ्योलिदोविक्षमः ।
 हेलोन्मूलितकोङ्गक्षिनिपनिः कर्णाटलाटोङ्गट-
 शोणीपालविड्यनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्णयते ॥ ५८ ॥
 यो भोजदेवान्वृपतेः प्रतापी जग्राह वाहं मदमन्दसन्वः ।
 सार्थं जनन्या सहजीवितेन सोमेश्वरस्यापि जहार गज्यम् ॥ ५९ ॥
 यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठृतद्वानाम्बृतरङ्गीषु ।
 सोमः समुद्रप्लवयेशलोपि ममजा सेन्यैः सह कुङ्गोशः ॥ ५० ॥
 सीमोङ्गक्षुनयेव यस्य जगता संहार इत्युच्यते
 कुङ्गे वज्रधरेषि यः क्षिनिभुतं मैनाकमत्रायत ।
 स्मारं स्मारममुष्य दुःसहमहःसेवोहवावानलं
 तेनाभ्योनिधिनापि कुङ्गणपतिर्नार्गक्षि कुशिस्थितः ॥ ५१ ॥
 वाहानामपि यस्य वैरिविद्येष्वातन्त्रतां धन्विना (नः)
 भानिलिङ्गनूपाङ्गणादत्तिनं वाहादिलीलाभवत् ।
 यस्तस्येव रणे जहार करिणस्तत्यञ्चवशद्वाविकान्
 यस्तथाज वधूवधादुपगनस्तद्भुजं रुद्रमाश् ॥ ५२ ॥

? This महा is omitted in the MSS. since it is followed by another महा, and the copyists mistook the one for the other. The compound is to be dissolved as जगतो जित्वर जगजित्वरम् । जगजित्वर महो यस्य स जगजित्वरमहाः. २ चूल for तून D 2. ३ मदमन्दसन्वः which is also the reading of D2, as an epithet of Mahādeva, involves censure instead of praise. The correct form of the word is, probably, मदमन्दसन्वात्, in which case it would be an epithet of Bhojadeva.
 § After this follow stanzas 14 and 19 of the next Praśasti in D2.

Rājaprasasti II.

शो हिमाशोर्जयनि प्रसिद्धो यस्मिंस गजा यदुगाविगसीत् ।
 चमूव यस्मिन्नसुगशनारभागपहागय पुरुषुगिः ॥ ३ ॥
 वंडो तस्मिन्कंसाक्षित्सनस्य क्षेत्रीयालो भिष्ममः प्रादुगसीत् ।
 निन्दे नाशं वैभिष्मधृतवद्वान्यस्यांकद्वीपश्चियः प्रनापः ॥ ४ ॥
 नश्चिभवत्सकलग्नं जसमाजमौ शीमाणिक्यर्थाधिनिविश्चाधिनपाइपशः ।
 उद्धामदर्थपुर्सर्वविद्वाग्नः शीभिष्माद्वनिष्टमनि भवपातः ॥ ५ ॥
 तस्माद्भूदभिनवस्मरचाहमूर्तिः कांतेः पैदं जगनि सिद्धुण्डयभूषः ।
 उद्देष्टोर्युगुलग्विनवेगिर्गसामन्तर्मादवद्वक्षेत्रेष्टमानुः ॥ ६ ॥
 अथ सकलकलानामालयः गात्रनाय तिनितद्ववर्तीनः पौर्णमार्त्तिश्च ।
 अभश्वदवनिपातो जनुगिर्नाम तस्माद्वस्मसमर्थाद्वद्विष्मित्वान्दकानः ॥ ७ ॥
 स भूमिपालो जनयावभूष कृष्णं महादुष्महीपतिं च ।
 हिताय लोकस्य यथा पर्याप्तिश्चिन्नामणिं कास्तुभमायुदाम ॥ ८ ॥
 जन्मान्तरेण्यं परिवर्तयन्ते उद्यावस्थे शुलुक फोतुकन ।
 कृतावतारे यदुगाजवंडे प्रीत्या पुनस्माविव गमकृष्णो ॥ ९ ॥
 धर्मार्थाविव नौ साक्षात्पालयनौ वसुधगम् ।
 विलोक्य लोकः सम्भाग गजानां गमलक्ष्मणो ॥ १० ॥
 दृष्ट्यद्वारुणवानिवाणगणक्षोणीषु मित्रा भहन्
 दासीकृत्य तथापराण्विहितवानन्यानाद्योक्तः ।
 इत्थं पार्यवगगजाविजयव्यापागत-
 श्रकं शक्तजयाय कृष्णनृपतिः स्वर्लोकयत्रागतम् ॥ ११ ॥
 अथ प्रभावानिशयेन लब्धं विभज्य लोकद्वितयाधिपत्यम् ।
 विष्णुष्टं शासनि कृष्णभूषं भुवं महाद्वयनृपः प्रशास्ति ॥ १२ ॥
 नेत्रद्वक्षिनियालतुलनिचयप्रक्षेपवद्वज्ञसानिद्व-
 गर्जद्वर्जगर्वपर्वतभिद्वाद्वभालिद्विक्तवः ।
 हेलोन्मुदितकोङ्कणशिनिपातिः कर्णादलादोद्वट-
 क्षोणीपालविद्वनः भ हि महादेवः कर्यं वर्णयते ॥ १३ ॥
 अयं शिशुक्षीशगणागतानां हन्ता महाद्वयनृपं न जानृ ।
 इत्थं विनिश्चित्य ततोनिर्भतेरन्धेः पुरुष्णा निहिता नृपते ॥ १४ ॥
 अत एव हि मालवश्वरः शिशुमव स्वरंडे न्यवेशयत् ।
 स्वयमाग्न विहाय संपदः कपटेनेव चिरं तपश्यति ॥ १५ ॥
 विष्मसमरकर्तुः शत्र्यो यस्य पाणी
 प्रलयद्वहनभूमस्यामधामानिभीमध् ।

१ युगल Kh. २ चन्द्रभानुः D. & Kh. चण्डभानः G. ३ यात्रा गतः Kh. ४ नलिंग Kh. & G. ५ प्रोत्सेप Kh. क्षेत्रेष्य G. ६ चण्डानिलो Kh. & G. ७ लाटोद्ववक्षोणी० Kh. ८ लाटोद्वव-
 क्षोणी G. ९ इत्थं विनिश्चित्यन्तो विमीतेगःप्रेः Kh. विनिश्चित्य D. १० हिमाचलेशं G. १० व
 पश्यति for तपस्यति G. ११ पाणेः Kh.

पृथुतरकरवालभ्यालमालोकयन्तो
 भव शरणामिनीमं मन्त्रमुद्धारयन्ति ॥ १६ ॥
 यशीयगन्धिपगण्डपालीनिष्ठयूतवानाम्बुतरङ्गिणीउ
 सोमः समुद्रप्लवेशलोपि भमज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुण्डेशः ॥ १७ ॥
 एतनप्रतापो वक्षिगम्भुगद्वैरेवोन्नगेप्यस्ति कृतः प्रयामि ।
 चिरं विमृश्येति यशीयवैरी सोभेश्वरो वाऽचमेव यातः ॥ १८ ॥
 आले भाण्डतत्त्वापरिसरः श्रीसिंहारूपः परं
 देशः पेशलवेशाभूषणवचोमाभूयध्याहृतिः ।
 नस्मिन्देवगिरिः पुरी विजयते वैतोक्यवारभिया
 विश्रान्तिः सुरक्षालिगीलशिखरस्पर्शिष्ठगुसीधाशालिः ॥ १९ ॥
 जगम्बीयीतगुणप्रशस्तिः शास्ता समस्तावनिमण्डलस्य ।
 श्रीमानिमामन्वयराजधानीं सोर्थं महादेवनृपो विभर्ति ॥ २० ॥
 कृत्वान्विधूतिविस्तीरिलामृतसमग्रियम् ।
 अथिनिष्ठनि हेमाद्रिरिमा विकुञ्जवान्धवः ॥ २१ ॥
 सा संपन्नविद्वयशो अतमिद्वयं सोर्थं प्रतापो महा-
 नैकेकं पृथिवीभूतो भूवि महादेवस्य लोकोनरम् ।
 यस्य श्रीकरणाधिपः स्वयमर्थं हेमाद्रिस्त्रिः पुरः
 प्रौढप्रतिभवण्ठमानविलसद्वंशो भूर्णी शोभते ॥ २२ ॥
 इतिगजप्रशस्तिः ॥

१ सौन्यैः G. २ ऋशेरवतः पुरोप्यस्ति कृतः प्रयामि D. प्रयामि Kh. ३ सेवलारूपः D. सेवणारूपः
 Kh. The middle letter of the name in G. looks somewhat like ट, but there is little question that the copyist had उ before him and made it appear like ट by producing the nether curve and making its end touch the knot of उ.
 ४ सर्वाङ्ग D. ५ तस्य D ६ अहं for अयं D२.

THE WORK DONE BY
THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY

TOWARDS THE ELUCIDATION OF INDIAN HISTORY BY THE
STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONS.

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THERE is no record in the literature of the country of the political revolutions and changes of dynasties that India and the several provinces went through before the advent of Mahomedans. We have therefore to depend principally upon Inscriptions on stone and copper-plates, and on coins, for information on these points. The work of deciphering and translating Inscriptions on this side of India, was, up to 1872, performed by our Society. In that year the Indian Antiquary began to be published, and the Inscription-work was in a very large measure undertaken by it, and subsequently by the Epigraphia Indica which began to be issued on behalf of Government in 1891. The latest and most satisfactory work will, of course, be found in the pages of the last and also of the Indian Antiquary. But the work done by our Society has also been of great importance, and my object is now to place before you a summary of it.

MAURYA DYNASTY.

The earliest Inscriptions are those of the Maurya Prince, Asoka, which go back to about the year 245 B. C. In our Presidency we find his Edicts inscribed on rock at Junagad. Good eye-copies of these were prepared by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob in 1843. These were published in the First Volume of our Journal. Nothing further has been done by our Society since, and most of the work was performed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and by scholars in Europe, and lastly by the Indian Antiquary and the Epigraphia Indica. In Volume XVII, however,

we have a copy of the Twelfth Edict of Aśoka at Sahabazgarhi, which had been missing before, and was newly discovered by Captain Deane, published with remarks by the French scholar M. Senart. And in Volume XXI, the latest issued by our Society, we have notes by D. R. Bhandarkar discussing certain points in the first two Rock Edicts and on the sect of Ajivikas referred to in the seventh pillar Edict, and in certain caves dedicated to it by Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha. The work done in connection with these Inscriptions has by no means attained perfection yet, and it will require the attention of acute scholars for many a year to come.

THE KṢATRAPAS AND THE GUPTAS.

Later in date are the Inscriptions of a dynasty of princes who called themselves Kṣatrapas or Mahākṣatrapas. This, in all likelihood, was a dynasty of foreign origin and belonged to the Śaka race. Like other foreigners who came in in later times, they adopted the current Hindu religion and Hindu manners. The name of the founder was Castana, which has a foreign look ; but all his descendants adopted Hindu names such as Jayadāman, Rudradāman, Rudrasena, &c. They were probably worshippers of Śiva, since the name "Rudra" frequently occurs in their names. There are several Inscriptions of this dynasty, but the principal one is that of the third prince named Rudradāman. It records the repair of a dam to the Sudarśana lake near Junagad in the year 72 Śaka corresponding to 150 A. D. A copy of this Inscription was first published in Volume I in the year 1842 by Jacob and Westergaard. A better copy, with a transcript and translation, was published by Dr. Bhau Daji in 1862 in Volume VII. Another Inscription, dated 127 Śaka, of the Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena, existing on a pillar at Jasdan in Kathiawar, was also published by the same scholar in Volume VIII.

There are several more inscriptions, though they do not appear in our journals ; but the names and dates of the several princes of this dynasty have been chiefly determined by the legend on their coins, which are found in large numbers in Kathiawar. This dynasty was finally exterminated by Candragupta Vikramāditya of the Gupta race about 310 Śaka or 388 A. D.; and this revolution is indicated by another Inscript-

tion about the Sudarsana lake mentioned above. The bank gave way again in the time of Skandagupta in the year of the Gupta era 136, corresponding to 454 A. D., and was repaired the next year. The two Inscriptions on the Sudarsana lake, therefore, briefly indicate three changes of dynasties from about the year 322 B. C. to 455 A. D. The dam is said to have been constructed originally by Candragupta Maurya through his Police Officer Puṣyagupta, a Vaisya. The lake was rendered still more efficacious 66 years later by Aśoka, his grandson. Then it gave way, as we have seen, in the time of Rudradāman about the year 150 A.D., and the second Inscription shows that it gave way again when the ruling prince was Skandagupta. Thus Kathiawar was first governed by the Mauryas, afterwards by the Ksatrapas, and at a later period by the Guptas. This Inscription of Skandagupta was for the first time fully translated and published with a facsimile and transcript by Dr. Bhau Daji in Volume VII of our Journal. Bhau Daji also published a revised translation of another record of the same prince inscribed on a Lāṭ, or pillar at Bhitari, in Volume X, and, later, another copy and translation of the same were published in 1885 by Pandit Bhagvanlal. This is all that our journals contain of the records of the Gupta dynasty.

THE VALABHī DYNASTY.

A General of the name of Bhaṭṭārka was appointed—in all likelihood, by one of the later Gupta princes—to rule over Kathiawar in the last quarter of the fifth century ; but about the end of that century and immediately after, when the Gupta dynasty broke up in consequence of the incursions of the Huns and from other causes, the rulers of Valabhi declared themselves independent and ruled over a large part of the country, the limits of which, however, have not yet been determined. In Volume III of our Journal we have a grant of Dharasena II, the seventh prince, and another of Śilāditya II translated by the Rev. P. Anderson in 1851. In Volume X we have a transcript of a grant of Dharasena I with remarks on the numerals in the Valabhi plates published by me. In Volume XI we have two grants of Śilāditya, the fifteenth prince, and of Śilāditya I published by V. N. Mandlik. In Volume XX Mr. Jackson of the Indian Civil Service has published a grant of Mahārāja Dronasimha, the third of the princes, which is important in this

respect, that it is the earliest hitherto found, and is dated 183 of the Gupta-Valabhi era, corresponding to 501 A. D. As Dronasimha was the third prince, the date of this grant enables us to fix the foundation of this dynasty in the last quarter of the fifth century. There is also another grant published by the same scholar of Dhruvasena II, bearing the date 320 of the Gupta era.

No other Inscriptions relating to Kathiawar or Gujarat occur in the journals of our Society till about the thirteenth century. In 1844 Wathen published an Inscription which exists at Somanātha—Pattana alluding to the construction of the temple. Wathen's translation was very faulty, and the record was again translated by Dr. Bühler in Epigraphia Indica, Volume II. The latest Cālukya prince mentioned therein is Bhimadeva II, and the date is 1272 Vikrama, corresponding to 1215 A. D. There is also an Inscription of princes of the Cūḍāsama family, who ruled in Girnar from about the tenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century. It refers to a prince of the name of Mandalika.

ŚĀTAVĀHANA DYNASTY.

Turning to Mahārāṣṭra, the oldest Inscriptions we find are those which mention princes of the Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana dynasty. They exist in the Nasik cave temples, the Karli cave temples and at Nanaghat, Kanheri, Bhaja, Junnar and Kuda. In the period to which they refer, the earlier or Pali Buddhism was in a flourishing condition, and the caves were constructed as rest-houses for the wandering mendicants, and places of worship, for all devotees of Buddhism. The earliest of these Inscriptions is that in which Kṛṣṇarāja belonging to that dynasty is mentioned. It occurs in a small cave at Nasik. Copies of the Inscriptions at Kanheri, Nasik, Karli, Bhaja, Junnar and Kuda, prepared by Lieut. Brett, were published in 1854 in Volume V of our Journal. Those at Kanheri and Nasik were translated from Lieut. Brett's copies by the Rev. Dr. Stevenson. In his time, however, Pali studies had scarcely begun, and consequently his translations are misleading and quite unreliable. In Volume VI we have excellent eye-copies of the Kanheri and other Inscriptions by E.W. West, and in Volume VII of those at Nasik by the same gentleman and his brother, A. A. West. These copies I used for my translation published in the Transactions of the International Oriental Congress

of 1874. A good many years afterwards Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr. Bühler published their own translations of them. Finally we have copies of the Bedsa Inscriptions by A. A. West in Volume VIII, and in the Inscription published in Vol. XII, the name of Madhariputra Sirisakasena, a Śātavāhana, was brought to light by Pandit Bhagvanlal. Papers on the Sanskrit numerals in the cave Inscriptions and on those occurring in the Nanaghat Inscriptions have been published by Dr. Bhau Daji and Pandit Bhagvanlal in Volumes VIII and XII, respectively.

THE KṢATRĀPA NAHAPĀNA.

The Śātavāhanas established their sovereignty over Mahārāstra in the first century before Christ; but they were displaced about the end of the first century after by a prince of the name of Kṣaharāta Nahapāna. The Inscriptions of his son-in-law, Usavadāta, the son of Dinkā, occur at Nasik and Karli; and one, of a minister of Nahapāna, at Junnar. This Nahapāna is called Mahāksatrapa and appears to have belonged to the same race which ruled over Kṣthiawar and Ujjayinī, i. e., the Śaka race. But there is no trace of a successor of Nahapāna having ruled over Mahārāstra, and it is expressly stated in the large Inscription at Nasik that Khakhārāta's family was exterminated by Gautamiputra. This Khakhārāta is Kṣaharāta, which was another name of Nahapāna.

The Śakas were driven out about 133 A. D. by the Śātavāhanas. The names of the princes of this family occurring in our Inscriptions are:—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) Kṛṣṇarāja | (2) Śātakarnī, |
| (3) Gautamiputra-Śātakarnī | (4) Vāsisthiputra Pulumayī, |
| (5) Gautamiputra Śrī Yajñā | (6) Vāsisthiputra Catusparṇa |
| Śātakarnī | (Caturapana) Śātakarnī, |
| (7) and Madhariputra Śakasena. | |

The Śātavāhanas are mentioned in Puranic Genealogies by the name of Andhrabhrityas. The names of all the princes mentioned above, except the last two, occur therein.

The Śātavāhanas seem to have ruled over Mahārāstra till about the end of the second century; and the next dynasty, Inscriptions of which we have in abundance, was founded about the

beginning of the fifth century. What princes ruled over the country during the intervening period of three hundred years, we do not know for certain. Very probably a family of the name of Traikūṭaka ruled over it and a portion of Gujarat during this interval, and used an era which is the same as that used by the rulers of Cedi, the country about Jabbalpore and Chattisgad. Its initial date is 249 A. D. A copper-plate grant found in a Caitya in one of the caves at Kanheri, dated in the 245th year of that dynasty, has been published in Volume V of our Journal; and another by a prince of the name of Dharasena, issued from the victorious camp of the Traikūṭakas, dated 207, is published in Volume XVI. These years correspond to 494 and 456 A. D. There was always a close connection between the rulers of Cedi, called in later times Haihayas and Kalacuris and the Cālukyas and Rāstrakūṭas of Mahārāṣṭra. The Haihayas may have ruled over this part of the country also in earlier times, and afterwards been driven out by the Early Cālukyas.

THE EARLY CĀLUKYA DYNASTY.

Now we come to the Early Cālukya dynasty. We have in Volume II a grant of Viṣṇuvardhana, brother of Pulakesī II, who began to reign in 610 A. D., was on the throne in 634, and was seen by Hioun Thsang in 639. In the same Volume, we have another of Nāgavardhana, son of Jayasimha, another brother of the great Pulakesī. In 1851 General Sir Le Grand Jacob published a facsimile, transcript and translation of a grant of Vijayāditya, the ninth prince of the dynasty who ruled from 696 A. D. to 733 A. D., and of another of Vijayabhattārikā, the queen of Candraditya, the eldest son of Pulakesī II, both found at Nerur, a village in the Savantwadi State, and a third found at Kochare and issued by the same lady. These grants contain the genealogy of the family from the first prince Jayasimha to the reigning sovereign. A grant of Satyāśrayadhruvarājendravarman issued from Revatīdvipa under the direction of the Cālukya Lord, dated 532 Śaka, has been published by K. T. Telang in Volume X. In Volume IX, Dr. Bhau Daji has noticed the photographs of the Inscriptions at Dharwar and Mysore. One of these is the celebrated Aihole Inscription of Pulakesī II, dated 556 Śaka, corresponding to 634 A. D. Another is an Inscription in a cave-temple dedicated to Viṣṇu at Badami

by Maṅgalīśa the fifth prince. In Volume XIV a revised transcript and translation of Nāgavardhana's grant, mentioned above, with remarks containing a discussion of the chronology of the Early Cālukyas, and giving the correct date of the Aihole Inscription, have been published by me.

A branch of this Early Cālukya dynasty was established in Gujarat, and the capital of that branch appears to have been Navasari. A grant of Śryāśraya Śilāditya Yuvarāja of this branch, dated 421, either of the Gupta or Cedi era, has been published in Volume XVI, and another of Buddhavarṣa of the same branch, uncle of the Vikramāditya of the main branch, in Volume XX. In Volume XVI Dr. Fleet has published a grant of Ādityavarman, son of Pulakesī II, three of Vikramāditya I, and one of Vinyāditya, the eighth prince of the dynasty. Upon the whole, it may be stated that our journals contain very valuable information about this dynasty.

THE RĀSTRAKŪTA DYNASTY.

The last prince of the Early Cālukya dynasty, Kirtivarman, was defeated and dethroned by Dantidurga who belonged to the Rāstrakūta race. This Rāstrakūta family that had been ruling over some province for at least five generations before, acquired supreme sovereignty in Mahārāstra in the time of Dantidurga. His grant found at Samanagad and dated Śaka 675, corresponding to 753 A. D., was translated by Bal Shastri Jambhekar and published in 1847 in our Volume II. Then in Volume III, we have a grant of Govinda IV, the fifteenth prince, dated Śaka 855 or 933 A. D., found at Sangali and translated by General Jacob. In Volume XVIII, I published an important grant, bearing date 862 Śaka, corresponding to 940 A.D., by Kṛṣṇa III, one of the most powerful princes of the family found at Deoli near Wardha. The Navasari plates issued by Indra III, the thirteenth prince, dated Śaka 836, translated by Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, have been published in the same Volume.

In Volume X Dr. Fleet gives an Inscription, in which Pṛthvīrāma, a feudatory chief, owing allegiance to Kṛṣṇarāja, is mentioned as having constructed a Jaina temple at Sugandhavarti, and assigned some land for its support in Śaka 897, corresponding to 975 A. D., and another which records the building of a Jaina temple at

Mulgund in the Śaka year 824, corresponding to 902 A. D. The Kṛṣṇarāja here spoken of is Kṛṣṇa II. In the First Volume a grant found at Kharepatan was published in 1843 by Bal Gangadhar Shastri. The grant was issued by a feudatory chief ruling over Southern Konkan. In the beginning the whole genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, from the first prince Dantidurga to the last Kakkala, is given, and it is a valuable document, and has enabled us to correct many a mistake in some later grants and conjectures of modern scholars.

A branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was established in Gujarat, similar to the one of the Cālukya dynasty noticed before. A grant of Karka I of this branch, deciphered, transcribed and translated by D. R. Bhandarkar, has been published in Volume XXII. The date of the grant is 738 Śaka or 816 A. D. A grant of Abhimanyu belonging to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, which appears to be certainly different from the family that ruled over Mahārāṣṭra, has been published in Volume XVI by Pandit Bhagvanlal.

THE LATER CĀLUKYA DYNASTY.

The last prince Kakkala of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was vanquished and dethroned by Tailapa who belonged to the Cālukya family, and thus became the founder of the dynasty known by the name of the Later Cālukyas. This was an important dynasty ; but we have not many documents referring to it in our Journals. In Dr. Bhau Daji's notice of the photographs of the Inscriptions at Dharwar and Mysore (referred to above) in Volume IX, we have mention of an Inscription containing the name of Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, the sixth prince, in which is recorded the grant by his feudatory Mayūravarman. In Volume X Dr. Fleet gives an Inscription which records the grant of land by Śāntivarman, a feudatory of Tailapadeva, to a Jaina temple he had constructed at Sugandhavarti in Śaka 902 or 980 A. D. This prince was Tailapa, the founder of this dynasty. Another, published by the same scholar, mentions Kārtavīrya who is represented as a feudatory of Bhuvanaikamalla ; a third records the grant of land by Sena, a dependent of Tribhuvanamalla, but the immediate servant of his son, Jayakarṇa, in the Śaka year 1009, and a fourth, a grant by Kārtavīrya, a feudatory of the same monarch, in 1019 Śaka. He also notices an Inscription in which Āṅka, owing allegiance to

Trailokyamalla, is represented to have made a grant in the year 970 Śaka, and Kārtavīrya, in 1009 Śaka.

Bhuvanaikamalla was the Cālukya prince Someśvara II, who reigned from about 1069 A. D. to 1076 A. D.; Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramāditya I¹ (1076–1127), the patron of Vijnāneśvara, the author of the Mitāksarā; and Trailokyamalla was Someśvara I, who reigned from 1040 A. D. to about 1069 A. D.

In Volume XI Dr. Fleet has published Inscriptions which record grants by chieftains of the Sindavainīsa or Sinda race, who were feudatories of the Cālukya Emperors Bhuvanaikamalla, Jagadekamalla, the successor of Someśvara III, and Nuramadi Taila the great-grandson of Vikramāditya. In these grants occur the names of all the Cālukya princes from Jayasiṁha, (the grandson of Tailapa, and the fourth prince of the dynasty) to the reigning monarch.

This family had many offshoots, and one of these ruled over Southern Konkan and had Sangameshvar as its capital. In Volume II, we have an Inscription of a prince belonging to one of these, and in Volume IV we have another, dated Śaka 1182, corresponding to 1260 A. D., found in the Rajapur Taluka of the Ratnagiri District. The donor mentioned in it is Keśava Mahājani, minister of a chief of the name of Kāinvadeva. Probably, Kāinvadeva belonged to the same dynasty as that which had Sangameshvar for its capital.

THE KALACŪRI DYNASTY.

The later Cālukyas were followed by the Kalacūris. A grant of Soma, the son of Bijaya, the founder of the dynasty, dated 1096 Śaka, corresponding to 1174 A. D., has been published by me with a transcript and translation in Volume XVIII.

THE YĀDAVA DYNASTY.

The Kalacūri dynasty had a very precarious existence of about 25 years; and it was followed by the Yādavas, who had before been subordinate Chiefs dependent on the Later Cālukyas who were sovereigns of Kalyāna. Of the seven ancient Inscriptions noticed by Bal Gangadhar Shastri in the article published in Volume II of our Journal in 1845, Inscription No. II refers to

Mahādeva, the last but one prince of the Yādava dynasty. Its date is 1187 Śaka, corresponding to 1265 A. D.; and No. III mentions a grant made by an officer of Kannaradeva, which was the Prakrit form of Kṛṣṇadeva, his name. It is dated 1172 Śaka or 1250 A. D. No. IV refers to the last prince Rāmadeva or Rāmacandra, and is dated 1194 Śaka. In Volume IX we have an Inscription of Kṛṣṇa, the fourth prince referred to above, dated 1171 Śaka and published by Dr. Fleet; and in Volume XV that same scholar has published a grant of Singhana, the third prince, dated 1160 Śaka or 1238 A. D. This was the last dynasty that ruled over what might be called the Maratha Empire. The last prince, Rāmadeva or Rāmcandra, was defeated by Allauddin, and the Mahomedans soon afterwards established themselves in the Deccan.

Several of the Nasik and Karli caves are monuments of the first or Śatavāhana family and of the Mahāksatrāpa Nahapāna. The cave dedicated to Viṣṇu at Badami and some temples at Pattadkal and other places in the Kanarese country, are monuments of the second dynasty noticed above, that of the Early Cālukyas, and the temple of Kailāsa carved out of a solid rock, of the third, viz., that of the Rāstrakūṭas, the second prince of which, Kṛṣṇa I, caused it to be excavated. The capital of the first dynasty was Paithan, of the second Badami, of the third Malkhed, of the fourth or Later Cālukyas, Kalyāna, and of the fifth viz., that of the Yādavas, Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad. It is curious to observe that all these, with the exception of Badami, are situated in the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and have no connection with the main Maratha country. It also deserves observation that Mahārāstra has always been politically connected with the Kanarese country, though the latter had petty chiefs of its own. It is also worthy of notice that two of our dynasties established themselves in Gujarat as the modern Marathas have done.

THE ŚILĀHĀRA DYNASTY.

Besides the dynasties mentioned above that ruled over the whole Maratha Empire, we have Inscriptions of three branches of subordinate or feudatory chiefs who belonged to a family which was called Śilāra or Śilāhāra. They trace their origin to a mythical personage, named Jimūtavāhan, who is mentioned in

Buddhistic books as a Bodhisattva or a person whose predominant feeling is benevolence.

THE KOLHAPUR ŚILĀHĀRAS.

Of the three branches, one ruled over the districts of Kolhapur, Miraj and Karhad. It was composed of fifteen princes. This was the latest of the three dynasties. We have an Inscription of the last prince Bhojadeva II published in Volume III of the Literary Society in 1821 by Dr. Taylor. In Volume II of our Journal there are notices by Bal Gangadhar Shastri of Inscriptions, one of which, dated 1065 Śaka, refers to Vijayaditya, the fourteenth prince; another, dated 1058 Śaka, to Gandarāditya, the thirteenth; and a third to Vijayāditya already mentioned. In Volume XIII we have a facsimile, transcript and translation of a copper-plate grant of Gandarāditya, dated 1032 Śaka, corresponding to 1110 A. D., published by Pandit Bhagvanlal. This dynasty appears to have been founded in the time of the Rāstrakūta king Kṛṣṇa III and exterminated by the Yādava king Śīṁghaṇa, who subdued the last prince Bhoja.

THE NORTH KONKAN ŚILĀHĀRAS.

The dynasty of the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan was founded in the time of Amoghavarsa I, the Rāstrakūta prince. He assigned that province to Pullaśakti and to his son Kapardin belonging to that family, as we see from Inscriptions occurring in the Kanheri Caves, copies of which, prepared by West, have been published in Volume VI of our Journal. Two of these Inscriptions were again generally inspected by Pandit Bhagvanlal, and his versions of the portions he saw, are given in Volume XIII. The dates occurring in them are 775 and 779 of the Śaka era. There is a facsimile, transcript and translation of a grant by Aparāditya, one of the latest princes, dated Śaka 1049 or 1127 A. D., in Volume XXI, published by Professor K. B. Pathak. An Inscription on a stone found near the old Government House at Parel, which is now in the Society's Museum, has been published by Pandit Bhagvanlal in Volume XII. It records the assignment of a portion of the revenue of a certain oārt in the village of Maholi in Salsette, which was in the possession of Ananta Prabhu Pai, for the worship of Vaidyanātha Deva by a king of the name of Aparāditya in the month of Māgha in the year 1109 Śaka,

corresponding to 1187 A. D. One of these two Aparādityas, probably the later one, was the writer of the Commentary on the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya, which is so famous. This dynasty was put an end to, a short time after 1260 A. D., by the Yādava prince Mahādeva who vanquished Someśvara, the last ruler of Northern Konkan.

THE SOUTH KONKAN ŚILĀHĀRAS.

The third branch of the Śilāhāra family was established in Southern Konkan in the time of Kṛṣṇa I of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty, about the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era and the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era. The genealogy of this branch up to Śaka year 930, corresponding to 1008 A. D., is given in the Kharepatan grant published in Volume I of our Journal by Bal Gangadhar Shastri. The subsequent history of this branch we do not know.

THE KADAMBA DYNASTY.

Volumes IX and XII bring before us another line of princes and chiefs, viz., that of the Kadambas. Dr. Fleet gives in the first, seven Inscriptions (No. 1—7) of princes, beginning with Kakusthavarman, and Mr. K. T. Telang in the second, three, the names of the princes in which are different. But all the records speak of the princes as sons of Hārīti and of the Mānavyagotra, and as worshippers of Mahāsena and the Mātṛs or goddesses. The Early Cālukya princes are so described in their plates. Again, Dr. Fleet gives in his first article in Volume IX one Inscription of another set of Kadamba kings or chiefs, and seven in his second article. The names here are different from those in the other Inscriptions. Of these the second chief Jayakeśi is spoken of in the grants as having made Gopapattana or Goa his capital. His grandson Jayakeśi II married Maīlalamahādevī, the daughter of Vikramāditya II (1076 A. D.—1126 A. D.) of the Later Cālukya dynasty, and this circumstance was considered as having conferred so much dignity on the family that it is repeated in all the grants.

The chiefs are also described as Banavāśipuravarādhīśvara, i. e., lords of the great city of Banavāśi, and, like many such expressions, it means that they were descended from a line of princes who reigned gloriously at Banavāśi. And we know from other

sources that Banavāsi in North Kanara was ruled over by princes of the Kadamba race. The princes, therefore, who are described in terms similar to those used in the case of the Early Cālukyas were the rulers of Banavāsi, and were contemporaries or even predecessors of the Early Cālukyas. They were adherents of the Jainas, and their grants are made to Jaina temples. The later Kadambas of Goa were an offshoot of the original Banavāsi Kadambas, as the Konkan Cālukyas were of the dynasty that ruled over Kalyāna and were adherents of Brahmanism.

In Volume XII are published three copper-plate grants of princes of the Vijayanagara dynasty by Dr. Fleet. One, dated 1276 Śaka, was made by Bukkaraja, the founder of the dynasty; another by Harihara, his son and successor, and is dated 1301 Śaka; and the third, dated 1434 Śaka, is by Kṛṣṇarāya. In Volume IV is published a grant in which Mādhava, Harihara's Viceroy at Jayantipura, which is to be probably identified with Banavāsi, is represented to have besieged Goa, killed hosts of Turuśkas, probably Mahomedans, and captured the place. After his death Narahari was appointed Viceroy. Mādhava who is spoken of as the Great Counsellor, and the Ācārya who introduced the path marked down by the Upanisads, granted the village of Kuchara as a means of subsistence to 25 families of Brahmans. The boundaries of the village were:—to the east, the village of Pāta, to the south, the village of Mhāpana, to the west, the sea, and to the north, the village of Paraulya. All these villages are to the south of Malwan and north of Vengurla, and the village Kuchara, to which, in honour of Mādhava the Viceroy, the name Mādhavapuri was given, is probably the present village of Kochare. It thus appears that the territory of the Vijayanagara kings extended at that time to Vengurla and Malwan. The grant was made in Śaka 1313, corresponding to 1391 A. D., by Mādhava, but appears to have been carried out by his successor, Narahari Mādhava, called Mahāpradhāna, who is represented as Bukka's Viceroy, governing the Banavāsi Twelve Thousand, in an Inscription, dated Śaka 1290 = 1368 A. D., existing at Banavāsi.

In Volume VII, Dr. Bhau Daji has published Inscriptions of the Yākātaka dynasty occurring at Ajanta. In Volume XIX, we have a facsimile, transcript and translation of an Inscription in

the temple of Amranātha near Kalyan by the same scholar. He read the date as 782 Śaka, but in a revised transcript and translation of the same Inscription by Pandit Bhagvanlal, published in Volume XII, it is read as 982.

In Volume I, we have a very valuable record of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. It is inscribed on a stone found at Nagpur, and was translated by Bal Gangadhar Shastri. It has recently been edited by Kielhorn and published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II.

In Volume XXI, we have an article by D. R. Bhandarkar. The names of princes of Kanauj occurring in certain Inscriptions on stones at Gwalior, Pehera and Siyadoni are Rāmabhadra, Bhoja, Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla, each preceding one being father of the succeeding. The names occurring in certain copper-plate grants are the same, with the exception of the last, and the order is the same. The princes also are represented as issuing their charters from Mahodaya which is another name of Kanauj; and still they were considered as belonging to a different dynasty from that of Kanauj. Mr. Bhandarkar after an examination of the arguments advanced, comes to the conclusion that the princes are the same as those of the stone Inscriptions, and he also explains the difference as to the last name.

In another paper in the same Volume he discusses the question of the race of these kings, and concludes that they were the Gūrjaras against whom our Rāstrakūta princes, Dhruva, Govinda III, Kṛṣṇa II, and most of the others, were at war. Both dynasties were equally powerful. This Gūrjara dynasty was established at Kanauj about the middle of the eighth century, since its second prince Vatsarāja was a contemporary of our Dhruva Nirupama, and, according to a statement in the Jaina Harivaiṁśa, was reigning in Śaka 705, corresponding to 783 A. D. Mahendrapāla, the patron and pupil of the poet Rājaśekhara, was the great-grandson of Vatsarāja, and was on the throne in 903 A. D. and 907 A. D. Rājaśekhara traces the pedigree of his patron to the race of Raghu or the Solar race while he was a Gūrjara and a foreigner, though naturalized and become a thorough Hindu.

I subjoin a list of the remaining miscellaneous Inscriptions.

- Vol. I, pp. 96-103.—A record of the benefactions of the Emperor Akbar at Palitana to the Jains and of the goldsmith Tejapal.
- Do. p. 259.—Copy of an Inscription found on a tablet at Nagpur.
- Vol. X, p. 19.—Copper-plate grant of Gūrjara Dadda II, son of Jayabhaṭa, 417 Śaka, by R. G. Bhandarkar.
- Do. p. 46.—Rudradeva's Inscription at Anamakond, dated 1064 Śaka, a transcript and translation of—, by Bhau Daji.
- Do. p. 63.—A revised transcript and translation of the Inscription on the Delhi iron pillar, by Bhau Daji.
- Vol. XIV, p. 71.—A few notes on the Inscriptions in Kutch, by V. N. Mandlik.
- Vol. XVI, p. 114.—A Godāvari copper-plate grant of the Rāja Pṛthvīmūla, by Fleet.
- Do. p. 357.—An Inscription from Buddha Gaya of King Aśokavalla, dated 51 of the era of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.
- Do. p. 378.—An Inscription from Kota of Śivaganga, dated 796, of the Lords of Malwa.
- Vol. XVII, p. 1.—A Buddhistic Sanskrit Inscription from Java, mentioning the construction of a temple of Tāra in the Śaka year 700, by R. G. Bhandarkar.
- Vol. XIX, p. 348.—An Inscription on the three gateways at Ahmedabad, 1868 Samvat, or 1812 A. D., of the time of Fattesingh Gaikwar, containing an order for removing a grievance as regards inheritance.
- Vol. XX, p. 106.—Inscription on three bricks received from a place 200 miles from Mandalay in Burma, consisting of the usual Buddhistic formula अ पर्म, &c. [by R.G. Bhandarkar].
- Do. p. 211—A grant from the Broach District by Saṅgamasimha, a feudatory, bearing the date 292, probably of the Cedi era, by Mr. Jackson.
- Do. p. 269.—A Kusana stone-Inscription and the question about the origin of the Śaka era, by D. R. Bhandarkar.

A DEVANĀGARI TRANSCRIPT, TRANSLATION AND DATE OF A VALABHI COPPER-PLATE

AND A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE FIGURED DATES ON THE
GRANTS OF THE VALABHI DYNASTY.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume X, 1871-74, pages 66ff.]

This paper was read on the 11th of January 1872 before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was published in the Journal of that Society. The Translation and Remarks at the end of the paper were published in the first number of the Indian Antiquary, bearing date January 5, 1872.—N. B. U.

The Valabhi copper-plate, a Devanāgari transcript of which I submit to the Society to-day was put into my hands by Mr. Burgess about two months ago. My translation of it, with remarks, has already appeared in the first number of the Indian Antiquary.¹ I will therefore to-day proceed to the consideration of its date, and of those of all the Valabhi plates hitherto discovered and published.

In this copper-plate the date is given in figures, thus . The first symbol consists of a vertical line having at the lower end a circular loop with a point coming out on the right, and at the top a stroke consisting of two small curves on the left and a small curvilinear stroke on the right. This symbol, more or less modified, is often met with in the Valabhi copper-plates and the Surāstra coins. The second consists of a circle with a smaller one touching it internally, and the last resembles the modern Devanāgari  six.

Before endeavouring to interpret this date, it must be premised that the value of the ancient Sanskrit numerals does not depend on position. Each symbol has a fixed value wherever it may be placed. The first figure in the present case has always been understood to signify three hundred, from the evidence of

1 It is published in this Volume immediately after this paper.—N. B. U.

Dr. Burn's Cālukya and Gūrjara plates. But subsequently, when it was found on the coins of fourteen or fifteen different kings of the Sāh dynasty, a doubt was thrown on the received interpretation. Mr. Thomas, on a careful observation of the numerals on these coins, found a variation in the form and number of the side-strokes, from which he gathered that the value of the symbol was, in some manner unknown to him, modified by these strokes.¹ But the exact signification of these was given by our learned Vice-President, Dr. Bhau Daji. In his paper² on the Ancient Sanskrit Numerals he tells us that the symbol without the right-hand strokes represents one hundred; with one stroke it signifies two hundred; and with two, three hundred. Dr. Bhau's conclusions are based chiefly on the numerals found in the Nasik Cave-Inscriptions. I have carefully examined Mr. West's lithographs³ of these, and I am convinced of the truth of this view. In the same Inscription (No. 25) the numbers 'one hundred' and 'two hundred' occur in words as well as figures. The figures are ० and ०० the first having no side-stroke, while the second has one. In the same manner, in No. 16, the words corresponding to 'two thousand' and 'three thousand' occur in the fifth and fourth lines, and along with them the symbol for a thousand with one side-stroke in the first case and with two in the second. In other places also we find the same, so that there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt as to the truth of Dr. Bhau's theory. It is also confirmed by the numerals on the Surasīra coins.⁴

The symbol for one hundred in the present copper-plate has besides the two side-strokes, a circular loop at the lower end. I first thought that this represented another stroke on the left-hand side, so that the whole expressed four hundred. But from the Nasik inscriptions⁵ I find that the way of representing four hundred or four thousand was by annexing the figure equivalent to four to the symbol for a hundred or a thousand. And in the

¹ JRAS, Vol. XII, p. 35 note.

² JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, No. 21.

³ JBBRAS, Vol. VII, No. 22.

⁴ Mr. Justice Newton's paper, JBBRAS, Vol. VII, No. 22 pp. 27, 28.

⁵ Mr. West's lithographs Nos. 17 and 18.

facsimile of one of Dr. Burn's Gūrjara copper-plates given by Prof. Dowson,¹ in which the date 385 is given in words as well as figures, I find that the first symbol has a loop similar to that in the present plate. There can, therefore, be no doubt, I think, that the first figure here represents three hundred. The loop is merely a flourish.

The endeavours to decipher the figures in the place of tens have not been so successful. We know the symbols for ten, forty, eighty, and ninety; but of the rest we do not know some at all, and have but an imperfect knowledge of the others. Dr. Bhau quotes an Inscription from Karla in which a symbol somewhat resembling the second figure in the present plate is given, with its value stated in words, as 'twenty.' Other considerations also show that the figure must be thus interpreted. It occurs twice in the Nasik Inscription No. 25. In both places Dr. Stevenson takes it to be equal to twenty,² but Dr. Bhau attaches that value to it in one place, and in the other the symbol appears to have escaped his attention, since he gives in his paper on the Numerals³ the value of the second figure in it only, which is four. The figure occurs in that Inscription at Nasik which is considered to be a deed of sale, and the deed is there said to have been executed at the orders of Gotamiputra in the year represented by the symbols. In another Inscription (No. 26), in which Gotamiputra's exploits are enumerated, his wife assigns the cave in which it occurs for the use of religious mendicants in the 19th year Padumāyi. Both these things, therefore, took place in his reign, and very shortly after each other. The symbol under consideration cannot have been intended for ten; for that number is represented by a totally different mark. It stands therefore, very likely, for 20. The same figure occurs on a coin of Viśva Sāh, the 15th king in Mr. Newton's⁴ list. The second figure on his other coins is that which we know represents 10, and the whole date appears to be 217. The former symbol, therefore, must stand for 20.

¹ JRAS, Vol. I, New Series.

² JBBRAS, Vol. V, p. 43.

³ [JBBRAS, Vol. VIII,] p. 228, under Cave No. 23.

⁴ JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 28, and Mr. Thomas's paper on the Sāh Dynasty, JRAS, Vol. XII, p. 59.

The last figure in our grant resembles, as I have said, our modern ६, and that has generally been considered its value. The symbol occurs in one of Dr. Bhau's quotations¹ with the word श्व, signifying six, after it. The date of the present grant is therefore, I feel sure, 326.

This grant is by Dharasena IV, the great grandson of Dharasena II, as I have shown in the genealogical table.² But the figured date of the copper-plate of this last monarch, deciphered and translated by Mr. Wathen, is usually considered to refer to the fourth century of some era. Mr. Prinsep³ and Mr. Thomas⁴ interpret it as equal to 300 + some undetermined quantity. The Rev. Philip Anderson⁵ thinks it to be 330. Dr. Bhau, in his paper on the Numerals, gives five dates with their facsimiles from Valabhi plates. None of these latter resembles the date in any of the three grants I know of, but the one which is somewhat like that in Mr. Wathen's plate, is interpreted by him as 332. In the same Volume of the Journal, however, in another paper,⁶ he assigns to Dharasena II, the dates 322 and 326, which, by the way, are not to be met with in the former list. If, then, I have interpreted the date in the present copper-plate correctly, and if, at the same time, Mr. Anderson and Dr. Bhau are right in their readings of the dates of Dharasena I, it follows that Dharasena IV reigned at Valabhi four or six years before his great-grandfather, or in the same year as he, or only four years after him. And even if we assign to the odd number of the date in Mr. Wathen's plate, the least possible value, viz. 12, and consider the date to be 312, fourteen years is too short a time for five reigns, or for the great-grandson to come to the throne after his father, uncle, grandfather, and great-grandfather. The supposition that the eras used by the two monarchs may have been different is, I think, unreasonable. One of two conclusions then must follow. Either my reading of the date of the present grant is wrong; or Mr. Anderson, Dr.

1 Sanskrit Numerals, [JBBRAS, Vol. VIII,] p. 229 under Cave No. 4.

2 See the Remarks at the end of this paper [N. B. U.]

3 JASB, Vol. VII, p. 349.

4 Paper on the Sāh Dynasty, [JRAS, Vol. XII,] p. 5, note.

5 JBBRAS, Vol. III, p. 216.

6 [JBBRAS, Vol. VIII,] p. 245.

Bhau and other antiquarians, have assigned a wrong date to Dharasena II.

Fortunately, in this difficulty, Mr. Wathen's copper-plate happens to be in the Museum of this Society. On examining the date, which is  it will be found that the figure representing hundreds has only one side-stroke. And even in Mr. Wathen's lithographed copy given in the Fourth Volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, and in Mr. Prinsep's table of the numerals in the Seventh Volume, the symbol has one stroke. All subsequent writers, however, and even Mr. Prinsep in another place¹ add one more. It thus appears that the first figure in the grant of Dharasena II is equivalent to 200. But this does not altogether remove the difficulty. The effect of this new reading would be to throw back Dharasena II by the whole century, if the other two figures were to have the same value as that hitherto assigned to them. And I shall presently show that a century's interval between Dharasena II, and his great-grandson would be too long. The question then is, what value should be assigned to the other two figures, which are . Our knowledge of the symbols for tens is, as I have observed before, imperfect. Something like the second figure in Mr. Wathen's plate occurs in Dr. Bhau's quotation from the *Abhira*² Inscription at Nasik, and he interprets it as 2. But I do not find the figure in Mr. West's lithograph of the Inscription; and instead of that, there is after the word  (two), the usual symbol of that number, viz. two short horizontal strokes. In the table given by him in the same paper I again observe the symbol opposite to the number 20.³ But Dr. Bhau has given no authority for assigning that value to it, and I am inclined to think that it is a misprint for the figure which has now been interpreted as 20. In fixing the value of the symbol under consideration, it should be borne in mind that the same minister, Skandabhaṭa, executed the grant of Dharasena II, and also the present one.

Dr. Burn's copper-plates have acquainted us with the symbols

¹ JASB, Vo'. VII, p. 349.

² Paper on the Numerals [as above quoted].

³ No. 15, l. 10.

⁴. [JBBRAS, Vol. VII,] p. 321.

for eighty and ninety; and from the Nasik and other Cavo-Inscriptions we have been able to determine the values of three more, viz. those for ten, twenty, and forty.¹ The figure in Mr. Wathen's copper-plate does not resemble any of these five. It must therefore be interpreted as thirty, fifty, sixty, or seventy. If these values were assigned to it successively, the date would be 232, 252, 262, or 272 (the last figure, consisting of two simple strokes, clearly representing 2), and Skandabhāṭa's tenure of office would be 94, 74, 64, or 54 years. The last number must be accepted as the most probable, and it thus determines the date to be 272, and hence the symbol must be understood to represent seventy. A tenure of 54 years would not be too long for any individual holder of an hereditary office, though there would be a very great degree of improbability in the supposition of each of three or four members of a family holding it successively for as long a period. George III reigned for 60 years, but the reigns of George IV and William IV were very short. The symbol the value of which I have been discussing bears a sufficient resemblance, making allowance for the difference of time, to that for seventy in Rudradāman's Girnar Inscription, in which the date 72 is given in words and figures. Mr. Prinsep's transcript² of it is, ፩, General Jacob's and Mr. Westergaard's³ ፩ and Dr. Bhau's ፩. Dr. Bhau's⁴ differs from the other two in having a stroke on the right-hand side, and this makes it look rather like 40. Of the three, it resembles the figure in Mr. Wathen's plate the least, the other two being more like it.

Mr. Wathen's second copper-plate is also in the Museum of this Society. It resembles in most respects Dr. Burn's No. 4, a modern Devanāgarī transcript of which is given in the Seventh

¹ In his table Dr. Bhau gives symbols for 30 and 70, but I have not been able to find his evidence for them in his paper. One of those he puts down under 70 is very unlike the transcript he himself gives of the symbol for that number occurring in Rudradāman's Inscription. And the transcript is, as I have shown further on, different from that given by two previous transcribers.

² JASB, Vol. VII, p. 334, lith.

³ JBBRAS, Vol. I, p. 149, lith., l. 4.

⁴ JBPRAS, Vol. VII, No. 22 lith., l. 4.

Volume of the Bengal Society's Journal. The grantor in both cases is the same. He was, as I have shown,¹ Śilāditya II, the third king after Dharasena IV, the grantor in the present plate. The figured date of both is ३८६.² The first symbol stands for 300 and the last for 6. The value of the second, which resembles the letter sa श, has generally been taken to be 70. But we have already assigned that value to a totally different symbol, and if this also were taken to represent 70 the date of these two plates would be 376; i. e., the interval between Dharasena IV and Śilāditya II, would be 50 years, and that between this latter king and Dharasena II, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ years. The minister who prepared the deed in Śilāditya's time was Madana Hala, the son of Skandabhāta, so that this reading would give to the father and son together a tenure of the office for at least 104 years. But, as I have already remarked, the son holds an hereditary office only for a short time if the father has enjoyed it for a long time. Each year added to the father's tenure must, it appears to me, be taken away from the son's. There is probably no instance in history of a father and son holding an office in succession for 104 years. I think, therefore, that the second symbol in these places cannot have been meant for 70. The only tens now available in fixing the value of this symbol are 30, 50, and 60, the rest having been already appropriated. 30 would not do, as the resulting date 336 would limit the duration of three reigns to ten years. Sixty would, like seventy, give, I think, too long a time to Skandabhāta's son. But even if it should be thought otherwise, the dates on the Sāh coins appear to support the interpretation of the symbol under consideration as equal to 50 rather than 60. For after Rudra Sāh,³ the twelfth in Mr. Newton's list, reigned in succession his two sons, Viśva Simha and Atri Dāma, then his grandson Viśva Sāh, son of Atri Dāma, and after some interval his third son, Aśa Dāma. One of Rudra Sāh's coins bears the date 197, one of Atri Dāma's 214, one of Viśva Sāh's 227, and one of Aśa Dāma's, a date

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 18.

2 JASB, Vol. VII, p. 349.

3 JBRAS, Vol. VII.

the second symbol in which is the one we have been considering. The most probable values in this case are 30 and 40, for a coin of his predecessor bears the date 227. But 40 has another and well-ascertained symbol ; and 30, I have rejected above on independent grounds. The value which ranks next in probability is 50 ; 60 would render Asa Dama's reign too long, and make him live about 40 years, or 33 at least, after his second brother. The date of Mr. Wathen's second copper-plate and of Dr. Burn's, the grantor in both of which is Śilāditya II, appears thus to be 356. Dr. Bhau gives under one Śilāditya the date 338,¹ and under another 346 and 348. He does not tell us whether these are his interpretations of the figures in the two copper-plates I have been speaking of, but if they are, I do not know on what authority he takes the symbol resembling the letter **N** sa to represent 30 or 40. In his own table of numerals he does not put the symbol under 30 or 40, nor does it occur there at all.

My conclusions therefore are that the figure **N** stands for 50, and **Z** for 70, and that the date of the grant of Dharasena II, discovered by Mr. Wathen is 272, and not 330, 332, 326, 322, or 300 and odd, as given by the various writers I have quoted, of Dharasena IV, 326, and of Śilāditya II, 356, and not 375. The interval between Dharasena II and Śilāditya II is thus 84 years, and not 40 or 45 as the interpretations of the dates hitherto received have led Indian antiquarians to suppose. According to Dr. Bhau the whole dynasty did not last for more than 40 years.² The reason generally given is that though there were many successions to the Gādi during the interval, only one minister and his son served all the kings. But there is, I submit, no impossibility whatever in the circumstances of a father and his son holding an office for 84 years between them. Henry III and Edward I reigned in England for 91 years. And 40 or 45 years is certainly too small a period for seven or eight reigns. It appears to me very improbable that a son of the great-grandson of a king should be reigning only about 45 years after him. And Śilāditya II, the grantor in Mr. Wathen's second

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 245.

² Ibid.

plate, was the son of the great-grandson of Dharasena II, as I have shown in the genealogy referred to above.

The question remains,—To what era are these dates to be referred? A good many antiquarians refer them to Vikrama's, and some to that of the Valabhi dynasty itself. Mr. Thomas, however, thinks the era used to be the Śaka,¹ and our learned Vice-President, Dr. Bhau, has consistently maintained this for many years. My humble opinion coincides with Dr. Bhau's. Not only do we find the words Śaka-Kāla used in those records of the period in which the era is specified, but I think there is a reason why that era should have been used. The name Śaka-nṛpa-kāla, or the era of the Śaka king, and the fact of the existence of such an era, show that there was a great king from whose date it originated, that he and his descendants governed the country, and that he was a foreigner and belonged to a tribe known to the Indian Aryas by the name of Śakas. Now, from the Cave-Inscriptions and the Surāṣṭra coins, we find that the whole of Gujarat and a great part of Mahārāṣṭra, with some adjacent countries, were for about three centuries governed by kings who called themselves Kṣatrapas. Though a Sanskrit etymology has been given to the word, there can be no question that it is of foreign origin and is the same as the Persian word Satrap. The earliest person who is known to have borne the title was Nahapāna, spoken of in the Cave-Inscriptions as the Kṣatrapa of a king named Kṣaharāta. Another Satrap was called Caṣṭana. These three names are unquestionably foreign and are considered to be Parthian. The name Sāh of the Satrap dynasty of Surāṣṭra is also not of Sanskrit origin. It appears, therefore, that the kings who bore the title of Kṣatrapas were Parthian by descent, though they were afterwards domiciled in the country, used the Sanskrit language, and took Sanskrit names. Nahapāna or his sovereign, or any one else who conquered this portion of India and established the Satrap dynasty, must have been the Śaka king from whom the era originated. And Usavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, is called a Śaka in one of the Nasik Inscriptions.² The era must have been used by the dynasty itself, and conse-

¹ Paper on the Sāh Dynasty.

² No. 14, JBBRAS, Vol. VII, No. 22.

quently by the people, just as we at the present day, even in our private transactions, use the Christian era.

When the Satraps were superseded by the Valabhis in Surāṣṭra, and by the Cālukyas in Mahārāstra, the same era to which the people had been accustomed for about three centuries must have continued in use, and been used by the conquering dynasties themselves. After the Marathas had put down the Mahomedans and established their sway, they always used the Mahomedan era, sometimes along with, but often without, the Śaka, notwithstanding the endeavours of Shivaji to sanskritize his Durbar. And this Mahomedan era continued to be used even by British Mamlūtārs, Mahalkaris, and Munsiss in their official letters until recently. From what has taken place in recent times, we may infer what must have occurred fifteen centuries ago. If we have seen the Maratha Rājās and the Brahman Peshwas using the Mahomedan era, notwithstanding that they had the advantage of another more ancient, we should certainly expect to find the Valabhis and the Cālukyas using the era of the Satraps whom they succeeded, especially when they had no other.

And if we refer the Valabhi dates to the era of Śaka kings, we arrive at an intelligible starting-point for the Valabhi era, ascertained by Col. Tod to have commenced in 319 A. D. The date 272 of the grant of Dharasena II, if referred to the era of Vikrama is equal to 216 A. D., i. e., the Valabhi era must be supposed to have originated 103 years after Dharasena's grant was executed. But it is difficult to conceive what event in the history of those kings, so important as to give rise to a new era, could have taken place at that time, except it be the overthrow of the dynasty or the destruction of Valabhi. But we have no evidence to show that there was a revolution in the country in 319 A. D. Valabhi was the capital of a kingdom in the time of Hwan Thsang, and the overthrow of a reigning family does not appear to me to be such an occurrence as would give rise to a new era called after the family. It would in such a case bear the name of the conqueror, and not of the conquered. If, however, the date 272 were referred to the Śaka-kāla, it would be equivalent to 350 A. D., i. e., it would show that Dharasena II was reigning at Valabhi in the 31st year

of the era of his family. The best starting-point for the era is, in my opinion, the coronation of Drona-Siinha, the second son of Bhātarka. The latter had, no doubt, laid the foundations of the greatness of the family, but he and his first son did not assume the title of King, and were called Senāpatis or Commanders of forces. Drona-siinha is the first member of the dynasty to whom the title of Mahārāja or King is given in Mr. Wathen's first copper-plate, and he is there spoken of as having been crowned by the only sovereign of the whole world, whoever he may have been. The independence of the Valabhi kings therefore dates from this event.

After Drona-Siinha, his two brothers governed the kingdom successively. The reigns of brothers succeeding each other cannot be very long, and even Guhasena, the son of Dharapattra the last brother, and father of Dharasena II, must have been a pretty old man when he began to reign, for he came to the throne after his three uncles and his father. Drona-Siinha also must have received the title of Mahārāja some years after he succeeded his brother. I therefore think that 31 years is a sufficiently long period for a portion of the reign of Drona-Siinha and the whole reigns of his two brothers and Guhasena. These considerations, in my opinion, go a great way towards showing that the Valabhi princes used the era of the Śaka kings. Mr. Fergusson refers the dates in the grants to the Valabhi era¹; but it is difficult to conceive how it should have escaped his notice that 272 years—or, according to the old reading, 330 years—is far too long a time for the reigns of Bhātarka, his four sons, and his grandson Guhasena, supposing even that the era began from the date of the original founder of the dynasty, and not from that of Drona-Siinha's coronation.

The conclusions, then, at which I arrive are—that the date of the grant of Dharasena II, discovered by Mr. Wathen is 272 Śaka, corresponding to 350 A. D.; that of the present grant is 326 Śaka or 404 A. D., and that of those of Śilāditya II is 356 Śaka, i. e., 434 A. D.

Since the above was written, Mr. Burgess has kindly placed in my hands the second halves of two copper-plate grants of the dynasty found in the ruins of Valabhi. Both are greatly damaged, but the smaller one more so than the other. The surface was at first covered over by a thick crust of some hard but brittle substance, so that the letters were not distinct. What was observable on the smaller plate was the sign-manual of the king and the date. But the date without the name of the grantor was of little use. I then placed the plates in a vessel containing water mixed with tamarind for a whole night, and the next morning when the hard substance had softened a little, scratched it off with a knife. The letters are now more distinct. In the first line of the smaller plate the following words occur :— सूर्यसंवत्सरानिरुद्धार्मदिव्यद्वयनामे प्रमाहभः शिला..... "Sri Sila...whose second name Dharmaditya was procured for him by his enjoyment of prosperity being..." The part of the plate, containing the syllables द्वय forming the latter part of the name and two or three words more, is broken off. Then follow the words यक्षकपिनिक्षक, after which some letters are illegible; and then सप्ताप्यन् चम्बिति, " commands 'Be it known to you.' "

Dharmaditya, we know, was another name of Siladitya, son of Dharasena II, and the words preceding his name in other plates are the same as here. The grantor, therefore, is Siladitya I. The date is २०८. The first figure has one side-stroke only, on which account it represents 200. The second is that which stands for 80 in Dr. Burn's plates. The common chord, however, on which the segments here stand is not quite a straight line, and the whole has the appearance of two irregular circles touching each other. But the figure occurs in this slightly modified form on some coins¹ of the Sah dynasty. The last figure is 6, so that the whole date is 286. This remarkably confirms my reading of the date of Mr. Wathen's first plate, and especially of the second figure in it. If the date of this grant of the son and successor of Dharasena II is 286, that of one of Dharasena himself may well be 272.

These two plates,² broken and mutilated as they are, are very

² See Mr. Newton's paper, JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 28, under Rudra Sah.

³ These have been translated in the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, pp. 45ff, and are included in this volume later. [N. B. U.]

interesting. Those hitherto discovered record grants of land to Brahmans, but in these I observe grants made to Buddhistic Vihāras or monasteries for the support of the mendicant priests from "the four quarters residing in them", as well as for providing the means of worshipping the great Buddhas, such as incense, flowers, and lamp-oil. The grant in the larger plate is to a Vihāra constructed at the village of Yodhāvaka, by the minister Skandabhaṭṭa, who appears to have been a pious Buddhist. We thus see that the Valabhi kings patronized Brahmans as well as Buddhists, and sectarian animosity did not exist. Buddhism still flourished side by side with Brahmanism; and the worship of the images of the several Buddhas formed part of the religion. But I reserve these plates for a fuller consideration on some future occasion.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE VALABHĪ COPPER-PLATE REFERRED TO ABOVE.

१। स्वस्ति वलभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणा॑ मैत्रकाणामनुलब्धेत्संपद्मण्डलाभोगसंसक्षप्रहारशत-
लव्यप्र २। तापाप्तपापेनतद्वनमानाजर्जवेपादितानुगामादनुरक्तमैलिभूतं श्रेणीबलावाप्राज्यश्रियः परम-
माहे ३। शरथी भट्टाकीद्रव्यवच्छिन्नराजवैशाम्नातपितृवरणारविद्वप्रणातिप्रविचीताशंशक्लवदः ईश-
वात्प्रभृति खड्ग द्विनीयता ४। हरेव समद्वरगजवटारफोटनप्रकाशितप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषः नत्प्रभाद-
प्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्षपादनम्ब ५। राइमसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यकपरिपालनप्रजा-
हृदयरक्तजनान्वर्धगजगच्छो स्मकान्तिर्थं गाम्भीर्य ६। बुद्धिसंपद्द्विः स्मरशशाङ्काद्विग्रामोदधित्रिदश-
गुरुधनं जानतिश्यामः शागणागतामयप्रदानप्रगत्या त्रुग्रवद्वास्ता ७। शोपावकार्यः फलप्रार्थनाधिकार्य-
प्रदानानन्दितविदस्त्वहन्त्रणविहृयः पाऽचारीव मकलभूवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः ८। परममाहेश्वरः श्री-
युहसेनतस्य सुततत्वाद्भव्यमयूख्यात्तानाथेस्तुतजाम्हकीजलाधप्रकालिताशोपकतम्यः प्रणयि ९। शद-
सहस्रोऽप्यजीवमानसंपद्वप्त्येभादिवधितः सगत्तमाभिगमिकैर्णिः सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषप्रियस्मा-
पिता १०। विद्धन्दुर्वर्तः प्रथमतपतिसमितिस्तुतानामनुपालयिता धर्मदायानामपकर्ता प्रजोपद्यातकानि-

१ विभग्नकम्भावार...यत्तक W. 2.

२ सप्तन W. 1.

३ संप्रहार W. 1.

४ प्रतापः पतापः प्रतापः पनन W. 1.

५ W. 2. repeats अनुगामात्

६ मौर्यद्वृतमित्रश्रेणी W. 1., मौर्यद्वृतः W. 2.

७ W. 1 & 2. om. one प्रकाशितः

८ संस्करणपादः W. 1.

९ रक्तजनाद्यवर्य W. 1.

१० स्वकार्यफलः प्रार्थना०

११ W. 1. कार्यफलप्रार्थना W. 2.

११ W. 1. has मण्ड.

१२ श्रीमहागामगृह० W. 1.

१३ निवृत्ति W.

१३ विद्यालित W. 1.

१४ उपजीवमोगसंपत्.

१५ सरसमा० W. 1.

१५ W. 1 om. one विशेषः

जामूणपूर्वा । ११ । नो दिश [उठे] विना श्रीमत्यत्येकाविवासस्य मंहिनागानिरक्षितदृष्टीपरिभागैः
विक्षेपिक्षेपसंप्राप्तिमलपार्थिव । १२ । श्रीः परममहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुनामः पादानुध्यातः
सकलजगत्तानन्दनात्यद्वयतुषुणसमुद्यर्थिगिनसदप्र । १३ । उद्गुणदः समशतविजयशोभामनधम-
षट्काप्रथ्युत्तिभासुरनगरासीटोदुड्डगुरुमनोऽथमहाभारः सर्वं । १४ । विद्यापागष्टविभागाधिगम्बिमलमतिरि-
सत्वंतसुभृतक्षवना । गिनलेखना । पि सुव्याप्तपादीनियपरिनिः समधन्तेकागाध । १५ । गार्भीर्घुड्ड-
योपि सुचिनितानिशयसुव्यक्तप्रमकल्याणगवमावः विर्गीभृनकृतयग्नुपनिषथविद्वाधनाधिगते । १६ । उद्ग-
कीनिर्धम्पर्वतप्रगांधोद्वत्तलतीकृतार्थसुव्यक्तप्रमकल्याणगवमावः परममहेश्वरः श्रीशिला ।
१७ । विद्यास्तस्यानुजस्तपादानुध्यातः रवयमुपद्वयगुरुणायाद्वयता समन्वितायामापि । १८ । त-
लक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासनक । १९ । परमभद्र इव धर्मस्तद्वाज्ञासम्पादनेकासनंद्याद्वहःसंदसुखगतिःयामनायामितम-
त्वस्यानिः प्रभावसमद्वर्णी । २० । कृतनृपतिशतविद्यागत्तद्वायापगुडपार्षीटोपि परावत्ताभिमानसावा-
लिकृतमनेवृत्तिः प्रणतिमकां पि । २१ । त्यज्य प्रख्यानपौहामिमानेयायानभिमानासानितप्रनिक्षेपो-
पायः कृतनिविलभूतनामोरविमयगुणसंहति । २२ । प्रसभनिविदितमकल्पितविदितमतगतिर्विचितनाधि-
निक्षिप्तिः शोवैद्वर्षीपर्वतामृषात्युन्नतदृष्टयः प्रव्यानपारुपाम् । २३ । कौश विनिशयगणनियविषयक्षितिरक्षितदृष्टी-
स्वयंप्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपृष्ठप्रथमसत्त्वाधिगम । २४ । परममहेश्वरः । २५ । श्रीश्वरग्रहस्तस्य तनयस्तपा-
दानुध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिविलविद्यानमनेवत्तेवानिशयः साध्यम् । २६ । एतायागीदा-
र्थेण च विगतानुभावनसमाहितागतिप्रसमनाग्याक्षमङ्गः सप्तगुप्ताक्षितनकशास्त्रकलादाकर्च । २७ ।
तगम्भीरविमांग । वा । पि परमभद्रप्रकृतिविकृतिमप्रथमविनयदोमाविष्टुः । गः समाशतमयपताकाहणप्रव्य-
वः । लाद्य । २८ । शाहुदण्डविवेत्तिविविक्षप्रतिपक्षदृष्टीरुपः वयभृतप्रभावप्रभुताम्बौद्धालभिमान
सकलनृपति । २९ । मण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यानुजस्तपादानुध्यातः सम-
नितानिशयित । ३० । सकलपूर्वनपतिरातिदृग्माध्यानामपि प्रमाधयित । विद्याणी वृत्तिमानिव पूर्वकाः
प्रविद्व । ३१ । गुणानुगगनिर्वच्छित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुष्ठिव रवयमग्न्यपतः प्रह्लिविधिगतकालाकलापः
कान्तिमानि । ३० । वृत्तिहेतुरुक्तद्वृक्तमुद्दनायः प्रात्यपत्तप्रथमगिनदिशान्तरात्प्रध्वंसितान्तराग्निर्भ-
तोवितस्म । ३१ । विना प्रकृतिः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तर्मतिवहुनिधप्रयोजनानुभव्यमागमपरिषृणं विविधानः
सन्धिविग्रह । ३२ । समासनिश्चयनिष्पुणः रथानन्द्रूपमेष्टां ऽऽद्वृणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारामाध्य-
रात्यसानातुरीयतन्त्रयोरु । ३३ । भयोरपि निष्पतः प्रदृष्टिकर्मपि करुणामृद्वृष्टयः शुभ्यानप्यगवितः
कान्योऽन्तो । पि प्रशमी स्थिरसोद्वयेष्टिपि निः । ३४ । विना द्वापत्तमुद्यममयसम्प्रसंनितजननानुग-
परिषिद्वितभूतनसमर्थितप्रयितवालाविद्यविद्वीनियनामा परम । ३५ । मांहश्वरः श्रीधुर्गेनस्तस्य सुनवत्तपाद-
कमलप्रणामधरणिकव्यगतनिकण्ठाऽद्वत्तलादन्दशकः गिर्गुमाव एव । ३६ । अथणनिहित-
पौक्षिकान्दुराविभ्रमामन्त्रभूतविशेषः प्रदानासादेत्कालालिताप्रहरनागविन्दः कन्याया इव शुद्धक्रम । ३७ ।
हगाद्रमन्दीकृतानन्दविभिर्वसुन्धयायाः कार्ष्णुके धन्तुर्वंद इव संभावितानान्दस्यकलापः प्रण विमान-

१८ दृश्यिता W. 1.

१९ मंहता° W. 1.

२० परिष्ठोम W. 1.

२१ क्रमाप° W. 1.

२२ नहिंश्वरं भद्रामज. श्रीधुर्गेनस्तस्य सुनवत्तपाद-

२३ ? W. 1.

२४ शालातुरीय Bs.

२५ कान्योपि Es.

२६ जनानुगांग Bs.

W. 1 signifies Wathen's first plate.

W. 2 do second do.

Bs. signifies the plate translated in the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, p. 45.

मण्डलोत्तमाहा ।३८। धूनदुडारात्नायमानशासनः परममहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरचक्रगर्भी
श्रीअज्जकाप्रादानुध्यानः । ३९। श्रीधरसेनः कुशली संज्ञानेव यथासंबद्धमानकान्तमाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्स-
विदितं यथा मया मानापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय । ४०। सिंहपुरविनिर्गतकिकटापुत्रप्रामनिवासीसिंहपुरचानु-
र्थिद्यसामान्यभारद्वाजसंगोवद्दुन्देगसत्रहाचारिग्राहणगु । ४१। हाढ्यपुत्रव्राह्मणाज्ञनाय सुराभ्रेषु काला-
पकपथकान्तर्गतकिकटापुत्रप्रामोपवाटकशर्करापद्रकदक्षिणसीमिन् ४ । ४२। द्युक्त्वाशत्यादावर्तपरि-
माणक्षेत्रवण्डं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः विष्णुलसत्क्षेत्रापि दक्षिणतः वनकमसत्क्षेत्रं अपरतः । ४३।
कुटुम्बिश्विष्णुलसत्क्षेत्रं उत्तरतः व्राह्मणप्रिभ्यवसत्क्षेत्रं तथा सिंहपुरविनिर्गतसिंहपुरचानुर्थिद्यसामान्य-
किकटा । ४४। पुत्रप्रामनिवासीभारद्वाजसंगोवद्दुन्देगसत्रहाचारिग्राहणगुढ्यपुत्रव्राह्मणमङ्गुरवामिने
सुगद्वेषु कालापक्य । ४५। यकान्तर्गतकिकटापुत्रप्रामेऽपरसीमिन् पोदशपादावर्तपरिसरा वार्षी यस्या
आघाटनानि पूर्वतश्ववसत्क्षेत्रापि दक्षिणतोप । ४६। तत्त्वं कुटुम्बिच्छन्दसत्क्षेत्रं उत्तरतः महनराजासक-
सत्क्षेत्रं तथा किकटापुत्रप्रामोपविवाटकशर्करापद्रप्रामेऽ । ४७। परसीमिन् अष्टार्थिशनिवादावर्तपरि-
माणक्षेत्रवण्डं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः कुटुम्बिश्वव्यरथविरक्षसत्क्षेत्रं दक्षिणतः आश्चिनिक । ४८। पुत्र-
प्रामीणकुटुम्बिश्वग्रहसत्क्षेत्रं अपरतः आश्चिनिपुत्रकवथ (ब्र) पर्णीयकसत्क्षेत्रं उत्तरांते ब्रह्मशायिकभागी-
यकसत्क्षेत्रं तथा । ४९। चतुर्दशपादावर्तपरिमाणं क्षेत्रवण्डं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः व्यवरथविरक्षेत्रमेव
दक्षिणतः कुटुम्बीश्वरक्षेत्रं अपरतः भव्यर्थीय । ५०। क्षेत्रमेव ३ उत्तरतः ब्रह्मवेयिकशारिलक्षेत्रं तथा पूर-
पनकाः यैपामाघाटनानि पूर्वतः विष्णुविक्षेत्रं दक्षिणतः कुटुम्बीश्वरक्षेत्रमेव । ५१। अपरतः कु [दुर्वी] श्वरक्षेत्रमेव उत्तरतः पटानकग्रामसीमा एवमेतद्विंशत्युनरपादावर्तशतप्रमाणं वापिक्षेत्रं सोदृशं स- । ५२।
परिकर सधान्यहिरण्यदेवं सद्गापाराय लोपयमनविटिकं सर्वराजकीयानामहसप्रेक्षपर्णीयं
पूर्वप्रत्येकव । ५३। ब्रह्मदायवर्ज्य न्यायेनाचन्द्राकृष्णविक्षितिसारिपर्वतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-
भोग्यं उद्गतानिसर्गं धर्मदायो निसृष्टः । ५४। यतोस्योचितयः ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृपतः कर्प-
यतः प्रविशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासंसेधे वर्तिनव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरसमद्वशजैरेत्यर्था । ५५। अनियन्त्रैश्व-
र्याण्यस्थिरं भानुष्ठं सामान्यं च भ्रमिदानफलमवगच्छद्विरयमसमद्वयोनुगन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च
वहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज । ५६। भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भ्रमिनस्य तस्य तदा फलं । यानीह
दारीद्रभयान्नेन्द्रीर्धनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रनिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः । ५७। पुनरा-
दशीत खटिवर्तसहजाणि रवर्मो निष्ठति भ्रमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेद्विति । दूत-
कोत्र राजपुत्रध्वसेनः लिखितमिदं । ५८। संधिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविषिपतिवश [?] भट्टपुत्रदिविषिपतिवश [?] भट्टपुत्रदिविषिपतिवश [?]

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, pp. 14ff.]

TRANSLATION.

WELFARE! From Valabhi. From Bhatarka the great Maheśvara¹ who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of a circle of friends of matchless might, who, with main force, had subjugated their enemies—who won the attachment [of kings] by his gifts, respectful treatment and equitable

1 Devotee of Maheśvara or Siva. The Valabhi kings probably belonged to the Maheśvara Sect,

conduct, the results of that greatness—who, by the power of the kings attached to him, obtained sovereignty, and whose royal race is unbroken,—sprang Sri¹ Guhasena the great Māhesvara,—who had all his sins washed away by bowing at the lotus-like feet of his mother and father—who, sword in hand, from his childhood manifested great prowess, by breaking the ranks of the maddened elephants of his enemy,—the rays of the nails of whose feet were mixed with the light of the crown jewels of the enemies laid prostrate [at his feet] by his valour,—who delighted the hearts of his subjects by excellently protecting them, thoroughly, according to the method prescribed in the Smṛtis,² and thus rendered his title of Rāja literally true,—who in beauty, lustre, firmness, depth, genius and wealth, excelled Kāma,³ the moon, the King of mountains,⁴ the ocean, the preceptor of the Gods,⁵ and the Lord of wealth,⁶—who sacrificed his own interests as if they were as worthless as straw, by his readiness to extend protection from danger to those who sought an asylum with him,—and, who delighted the hearts of learned men, friends and favourites, by giving them more wealth than was asked, and who was the very incarnate [moving on legs] delight of the whole extent of the world. His son was Sri Dharaṇena the great Māhesvara—whose stains of sins were wholly washed away by the water of the Gaṅgā⁷ in the shape of the rays from the nails of his father's feet,—whose wealth was fed on by hundreds of thousands of favourites,—who was resorted to as it were, out of love for his beauty, by many acquired virtues,—who astonished all archers by his innate power and acquired skill,—who continued the charitable grants made by former kings,—who averted the evils destructive to his subjects,—who showed himself to be the common abode of Sri⁸ and Sarasvatī,⁹—whose exploits placed him in the enjoyment of the wealth

1 This is an honorific, prefixed to the names of kings.

2 Law-books.

3 The God of Love.

4 Himālaya.

5 Bṛhaspati.

6 Kubera.

7 The water of the Gaṅgā is white, according to Hindu poets, and rays of light are also white; hence the resemblance.

8 The Goddess of wealth.

9 Goddess of learning. These two are supposed always to live apart.

and power of his united enemies, and who, by exploits, obtained unsullied royal dignity. His son was Śilāditya, the great Māheśvara, who meditated on his father's feet,—who filled the circle of all the quarters by extraordinary virtues which were united in him, and which delighted the whole world,—the burden of whose great desires was borne successfully by his shoulders, which were brighter than those of others, in consequence of his conspicuousness amongst the allies, who had obtained distinction by winning a hundred battles,—whom it was always very easy to please by writing sage epigrams, though his own mind was purified by the study of all sciences in all their branches,—who, though transcending all people in the unfathomable depth [of his heart], was of a very benevolent disposition, as shown by his good deeds,—who obtained great fame by clearing the obstructed path trodden on by kings of the Kṛta¹ age,—whose enjoyment of the sweets of affluence was refined by his adherence to justice, and thus procured for him his other name of Dharmāditya.² His younger brother was Śri Kharagraha, the great Māheśvara, who meditated on his (brother's) feet, who bore the sovereign power though it was an object of desire to the loving elder one, who was like the elder one of Upendra,³ as a bullock (bearer of the yoke) bears on his shoulders something that is great, simply on account of the pleasure he took in executing his (brother's) commands, and while doing so he did not allow his virtue to be diminished, either by love of pleasure or vexation—whose mind—though his foot-stool was enveloped in the lustre of the crown jewels of the hundred kings subjugated by his prowess—was not affected by arrogance, or a fondness to treat others with indignity,—to counteract whom (whose power), setting aside submission, there was no way even for enemies reputed for manliness and pride,—who by a number of pure virtues which perfumed the whole world,

1 The kings of the Kṛta or the first age of Hindu Mythology were very virtuous; and their ways and manners were forgotten. Śilāditya trod in their foot-steps.

2 Literally—' the Sun of justice or virtue.'

3 Upendra is a name of Viṣṇu; and the allusion here is probably to Kṛṣṇa, in whose favour Balarāma, his elder brother, or guru,—the word in the original,—resigned the kingdom.

resisted with main force the progress of the sport of Kali,¹—whose heart was noble and untouched by all the faults which little men are prone to,—and who obtained the first place amongst men of valour by the royal Lakṣmi² of a host of inimical kings voluntarily embracing him, on account of his well-known valour and skill in the management of weapons. His son who meditated on his feet was Śrī Dharasena, the great Māheśvara, who gave exceedingly great delight to the hearts of learned men by the acquisition of all the sciences,—who in his stock of virtue and liberality in giving away, found a device, by which was effected the defeat of the desires of his enemies, who, though his thoughts were deep (in his breast), in consequence of his having been thoroughly acquainted with various sciences, arts, and with the ways of the world, was of a very benevolent disposition,—whose unaffected humility and chastened manners, were his ornaments,—who destroyed the pride of all enemies by his powerful and massive arm, which carried the flag of victory in a hundred battles, and whose commands were obeyed by the whole circle of kings, whose skill in the management of weapons he had defeated by the might of his bow. His younger brother who meditated on his feet was the great Māheśvara Dhruvasena, who surpassed all previous kings by his good deeds,—who accomplished things that were very difficult to accomplish,—who was valour itself in a human form,—who was respected as if he were Manu himself by his subjects, with hearts full of love for his great virtues,—who was the very lord of beauty without the spots, ful-glorious,³ shining, and the cause of joy to others,—who was the ever shining sun, the dispeller of darkness by filling all quarters with the bright lustre [of his great prowess]—who, inspiring confidence in his subjects,

1 The principle of evil. Kali is supposed to have full swing in the present age, which is called Kali-yuga.

2 The triumph of a lover consists in his embrace. The royal power and state of Lakṣmi, who is attracted by the

strength of the king, is represented as giving him a voluntary arming that his enemies are personified as.

3 i. e., The moon.

4 There is a play here on the word Kali, which means ‘a digit of the moon’ and ‘an art.’ The moon had all her digits, i. e., was full, and the king was versed in all the arts.

5 There is a play here on the words prakṛti, pratyaya, anubandha, āgama and vidadhāna, which are technical terms used by Pāṇini. The grammatical meaning is enclosed within brackets in the text.

as to the acquisition of wealth, the furtherance of a great many purposes, and the increase of prosperity [Gramatically construed—prescribing the addition to bases of a termination with a certain sense, having letters indicatory of a great many changes, and with the augment added on to it]; proficient in determining matters about peace,¹ war, and alliance [Gram. well-versed in Saṁdhi or phonetic rules, dissolution of compounds and Compounds]; issuing² commands proper for the occasion [Gram. prescribing a substitute for the original] and doing³ honour to the good by raising them from a subordinate position [Gram. giving correct forms to words by prescribing Guṇa and Vṛddhi changes], was thoroughly versed in the art of Government, and of the Śalāturiya.⁴ Though of great valour, he possessed a heart softened by compassion; though learned, he was not boastful; though he was a lover, his passions were subdued; though his kindness was unchanging, he repelled those who were guilty. He rendered his well-known second name of Bālāditya (Morning Sun) literally true, by the warm⁵ love which he engendered in men at the time of his accession,⁶ and which overspread the earth. His son is Śrī Dharasena who bears on his forehead a crescent of the moon, in the shape of the mark of scars produced by rubbing his head on the earth, when prostrating himself at his father's lotus-like feet; whose great learning is as pure as the pearl ornament put on his graceful ear in his childhood; the lotus-like palm of whose hand is always washed by the water [poured in the making] of gifts; whose joy is heightened by the levy of taxes⁷ as light as the soft grasp of the hand of a maiden; who, like the revealed science of archery,⁸ has dealt by means of his bow with all the aims in

1 Here the words Samāsa, Vigraha and Saṁdhi are used in a double sense.

2 Sthāna and Ādeśa are the words here.

3 Here the words with a double meaning are Saṁskāra, Sādhu, Guṇa, Vṛddhi, and Vidhāna.

4 Pāṇini was a native of Śalātura, in the country to the west of the Indus; and he is known by the name of Śalāturiya or native of Śalātura.

5 There is a play on the word Anurāga here, which means 'redness' as well as 'love.' The light of the morning sun is reddish.

6 Udaya is the word here which means 'rise' as applied to the Sun or the king.

7 A pun on the word Kara which means a 'tax' and the 'hand'.

8 The Dhanurveda so translated here, teaches how to take all sorts of aims; and the king had actually taken all aims; hence the comparison.

the world (takes aims),—whose commands are treated by the circle of subject kings as the jewels worn on the head;¹ who mediates on his grandfather's feet and who is the great Māhesvara, the great lord, the king of kings, the great ruler, the universal sovereign. He, enjoying good health, commands all whom it may concern :—“ Be it known to you, that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father, I have given in charity, by pouring water, a field of the area of 56 paces² at the southern extremity of Šarkarāpadraka, a district of Kikkatāputra, a village in Kālāpakapatha in Surāstra, to the Brāhmaṇa Arjuna, son of the Brāhmaṇa Guhādhyā, residing in Kikkatāputra, formerly of Simhapura, honoured among the Brāhmaṇas of Simhapura, knowing the four Vedas, of the Bhāradvāja gotra, and student of the Chandoga Veda. The boundaries of the field are, to the east the well Viñhalsatkka,—to the south, the field Vattakasatkka,—to the west, the field Kuṭumbi-Viñphala-Satkka, to the north, the field of Brāhmaṇa-śasti-bhava Satkka : And also to the Brāhmaṇa Maṅka-Svāmin, son of the Brāhmaṇa Guhādhyā, residing in the village of Kikkatāputra, formerly of Simhapura, honoured among the Brāhmaṇas of Simhapura, knowing the four Vedas, of the Bhāradvāja gotra, student of Chandoga Veda : a well of the area of sixteen paces, at the western extremity of Kikkatāputra village in Kālāpakapatha in Surāstra. The boundaries are:—To the east, the well Catra-satkka,—to the south and west the field Kuṭumbi Candra-satkka—and to the north the field Mahattatradasaka-satkka. And also at the western extremity of the village of Šarkarāpadraka a district of Kikkatāputra, a field of the area of 28 paces, the boundaries of which are,.....³ and also a field measuring fourteen paces, the boundaries of which are...and also six pattakas⁴ whose boundaries are :—to the east to the south to the west and to the north, the boundary of the village of Paṭānaka. In this manner, the field of Vāpi, of the extent of 182

1 i. e. uncompromisingly obeyed.

2 The word in the original is padāvarta, which appears to have been a square measure.

3 The dots.....indicate portions containing a mention of the boundaries &c. left untranslated. [N. B. U.]

4 Probably a certain square measure.

paces, is granted, along with its appurtenances, and whatever is on it, together with the revenue in kind, or gold, and with whatever may be grown on them, except what may have been granted to Gods or Brahmans before. The whole is not to be meddled with by any officer of the king, and is to be enjoyed from son to grandson, and to last as long as the sun, the moon, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains endure. On this account no one shall obstruct any one, who, in virtue of this Brahman-gift, enjoys the land, ploughs it, or allows it to be ploughed, or assigns it over to another person. All future kings, whether of our race or others, should, bearing in mind that power is transitory, and humanity frail, and knowing the good fruits arising from the grant of land, recognise this our grant, and continue it. It is said :—This earth has been enjoyed by many kings, such as Sagara and others; each one obtains the fruit when he is in possession. The things given in charity by kings who were afraid of poverty, are like flowers which have been used. What good man will resume them? The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years, and he who takes it away, or allows it to be taken away, lives in Hell for as many years.—The Prince Dhruvasena is minister (executive officer) here. Engraved by Divirapati-Skandabhaṭa, the son of Divirapati Vaśa [?] bhata, minister for peace and war. 326 in the bright half of Āśāḍha. My own hand [sign manual].

REMARKS.

THREE copper-plates of the Valabhi Dynasty have been hitherto deciphered and translated. Two of these were discovered by Mr. Wathen, and the third by Dr. Burns of Kaira. Mr. Wathen's translation of one of the two and his remarks on the other are given in the Fourth Volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal. One leaf of the latter was afterwards deciphered and translated by the Rev. P. Anderson. The translation, a Devanāgarī transcript, and a lithographed copy are given in the Third Volume of the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal. A transcript and translation of Dr. Burn's copper-plate are to be found in the Seventh Volume of the Bengal Society's Journal. We shall distin-

guish these by the numbers 1, 2 and 3. No. 1 records a grant of land by Dharasena II, the great-grandson of the founder of the dynasty and the seventh in Mr. Anderson's list; and Nos. 2 and 3 are said to be from Dhruvasena, the thirteenth in the list.

The copper-plates now translated were put into my hands by the Editor.¹ The grantor, in this case, is Dharasena IV, the twelfth in Mr. Anderson's list and consequently the immediate predecessor of the king who is considered as the grantor in Nos. 2 and 3.,

Dr. Bhau Daji gives, in one place, the dates of five copper-plate grants of this dynasty,² whilst in another he mentions seven dates professedly derived from copper-plates. But he does not say when or by whom so many grants of the Valabhi kings were discoverd, nor who deciphered and translated them, or where the plates or their transcripts and translations are to be found. Mr. Thomas, as appears from his edition of Prinsep's Essays, knows only of the three I have mentioned.

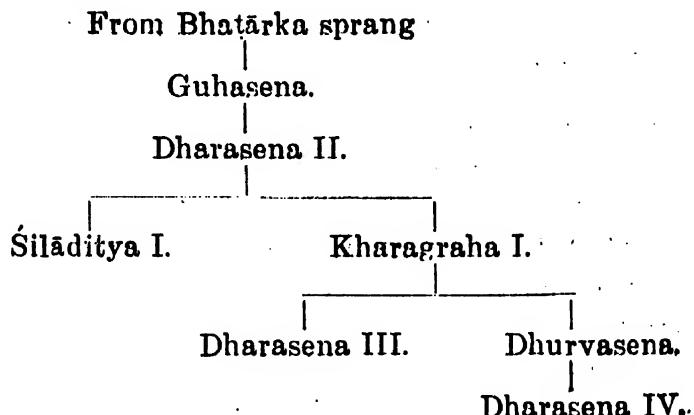
The descriptions of the several kings in all these plates are given in the same words ; so that, so far as they go, they may be considered to be copies of each other. There are a few varietates lectionis, but some of these at least must be ascribed to the ignorance or carelessness of the engraver. The published transcript of No. 1 is generally correct ; but those of the other two are full of mistakes, and it is difficult or impossible in a great many places to make out any sense. Any one well acquainted with Sanskrit may ascertain the truth of this for himself by comparing the several transcripts with that of the present one. Many instances of this might be given, but I shall confine myself here to one. The plays on certain grammatical terms, and Śālatūriyā, the name of Pāṇini, were not at all made out by previous decipherers ; Guna-vṛddhi was read by Mr. Anderson and the Calcutta scholar as Guna-bhridbhī, and Śālatūriya as Śālāgarīyas. But these mistakes are not in the original copper-plates. Nos. 1 and 2 are preserved in the Museum of the Eombay Asiatic

¹ The Editor of the Indian Antiquary added the scot-note "They were kindly lent me by Major J. W. Watson." [N. B. U.]

² JBBRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 230,

Society and I have collated these (in original) with the present one. I did not find there the mistakes I speak of, and which are to be ascribed to the transcribers. The translations based upon such transcripts must, of course, be equally wrong.

The genealogy of the Valabhi kings as gathered from the present grant is as follows :—



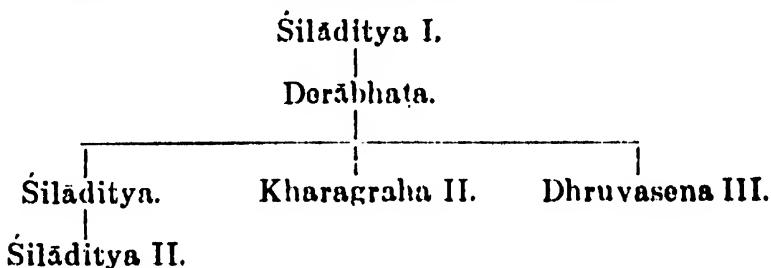
This genealogy agrees in every respect, so far as it goes, with that in Nos. 2 and 3. The exact relationship between Bhatarka and Guhasena is not given; but in No. 1 he is represented as his great-grandson. No. 1 gives also the names of the several sons of Bhatarka who succeeded each other.

The name of the grandfather of Dharasena IV, and brother of Siladitya I, is given as Isvaragraha by the translators of Nos. 2 and 3. In the present plate it is clearly Kharagraha and I find it so even in No. 2. Mr. Wathen's reading of it was Caragraha which is nearer to the true name than Isvaragraha.

From a passage in the description of Kharagraha, the younger brother of Siladitya, it appears that during the life-time of the latter, the former held the reins of government. For he is there spoken of as having administered the affairs of the kingdom in obedience to the orders of his guru which word must, from the analogy of the guru of Upendra or Krsna mentioned there, as well as for other reasons, be taken to mean 'elder brother.' Mr. Anderson has entirely misunderstood this passage. The Calcutta translator gives the substance of it though the bearing of the analogy does not seem to have been clearly comprehended. There appears to have been a sort of usurpation here, for Siladitya's

children were passed over and the kingdom was governed by Kharagraha, and after him, by his lineal descendants. The line of Śilāditya was restored after the death of Dharasena IV, as is evident from Nos. 2 and 3.

According to the translators of these, the immediate successor of this king made the grants Nos. 2 and 3, and his name was Dhruvasena. There is here a double mistake. The grantor's name was evidently Śilāditya, as may be ascertained by comparing the passage in No. 2 with the corresponding one in the transcript of No. 3, and he was not the immediate successor of Dharasena IV. He was great-grandson to Śilāditya I, as shown in the following genealogy gathered from the original of No. 2, now in the Museum of the Bombay Asiatic Society :—



This last, marked Śilāditya II., is the grantor in Nos. 2 and 3.

This genealogy differs from that given by all the writers on the Valabhi dynasty except Dr. Bhau Daji¹ who does not give his authorities; but if they are not the same as mine, the order of names given above receives confirmation from what may, for the present, be called an independent source.

In another list given by the same writer,² I find another Śilāditya, placed below Śilāditya II. But here again I must complain of his silence as to his authorities.

It is not likely, though there is nothing impossible in it, that Derābhāṭa, the son of Śilāditya, should have lived to succeed Dharasena IV, the grandson of his uncle. It appears to me that those only whose names in the plates are in the nominative case and have the epithet Paramamāhesvara prefixed to them, were reigning kings. The names of Derābhāṭa, and Śilāditya, the father

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 116.

² Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 245.

238. A VALABHĪ COPPER-PLATE WITH A FIGURED DATE

of Śiladitya II are in the genitive case in No. 2 and they are not styled Paramamāhesvaras. They do not seem, therefore, to have sat on the throne.

In a few places, in the latter part of the present copper-plate, the letters are not distinct ; so that I am not sure of the readings I have given of the names of the fields mentioned as boundaries of the pieces of land conveyed. But these names cannot be of any importance.

ON TWO COPPER-PLATES FROM VALABHI.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872, pp. 45ff.]

The following are translations of the second halves of two copper-plate grants sent to the Editor of the Indian Antiquary from Bhavnagar. The second and smaller one, 12 inches by $8\frac{1}{4}$, is greatly damaged; and the letters are indistinct in many places. The other is $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $10\frac{1}{4}$, and is in a better state of preservation—the right hand edge only being broken off.

The grantor in No. I is Dharasena IV, the same as in the one translated at pp. 214 ff, ante. The date is also the same, viz. 326, the month being Māgha instead of Āśādha. The first nine lines and a half have not been translated, as the description of the kings in them is in almost every respect the same as in the corresponding portion of the former and other Valabhi grants.

The grantor in No. II is Śilāditya I, the son and successor of Dharasena II, the king in Mr. Wathen's first plate. The figured date is :—

२०५.

The first figure having only one side stroke, represents 200. The value of the second we know from Dr. Burn's Cālukya and Gūrjara plates to be 80, and the last stands for 6; so that the whole is 286. But the date usually assigned to the father of Śilāditya from Mr. Wathen's plate is 332. I have shown¹ that this date has been misread and misinterpreted. The first figure in it stands for 200, and the value I have assigned to the second from evidence available is 70. The date therefore is 272.

These two plates, broken and mutilated as they are, are very interesting. Those hitherto discovered, record grants of land to Brahmans; but both these record grants of land to Buddhist monasteries or Vihāras. In the larger plate, the village of Yodhāvaka is assigned to a Vihāra constructed by the minister

¹ In a paper in the JBBRAS, Volume X, p. 66ff. This paper has been published in this Volume, ante, pp. 214ff.

Skandabhaṭa, who appears to have been a pious Buddhist. We see from these, that the Valabhi kings patronized the Buddhists as well as the Brahmans : Buddhism flourished at the time side by side with Brahmanism, and the worship of images formed part of the religion. The genealogy of the Valabhi dynasty has been given at pp. 236 f, ante. The dates gathered from the copper-plate grants, I know of, are given below. I believe, for reasons in the paper just referred to, that the era used in these grants is that of the Saka king.

Dharasena II	...	...	...	272 Śaka or 350 A. D.
Silāditya I	...	...	...	286 Śaka or 364 A. D.
Dharasena IV (2 grants )	...	...	...	326 Śaka or 404 A. D.
Silāditya II (2 grants )	...	...	...	356 Śaka or 434 A. D.

TRANSLATION OF PLATE I.

Śrī Dharasena, the great Māheśvara, the great lord, the king of kings, the great ruler, the universal sovereign, who meditates on his grand-father's feet, enjoying good health, commands all whom it may concern :—Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father I have (assigned) to the assembly of the revered mendicant priests of the Mahāyāna (school) coming from the four quarters to the monastery constructed by Divira-pati Skandabhaṭa in the village of Yodhāvaka in Hestava-prāhāra in Surāṣṭra, the four divisions of the same village of Yodhāvaka :—viz., three for the purpose of (providing) clothing, food,¹ [means of] sleeping and sitting.....and medicine ; for the purpose of [providing] the means of worshiping and washing the glorious Buddhas, viz., fragrant ointment, incense, flowers, and oil for lamps, and for executing repairs to the monastery (lit. for putting aright the broken parts) ; and the fourth part of the same village for the further digging, clearing or repairing of the tank dug at the same place by Divirapati Skandabhaṭa, and thus for providing water just at the door, (lit. at the root of the feet). In this manner, by pouring water, the village

1 Pindā-pāṭa is explained as शीद्वानि भिक्षाधर्मणेन भोजनम्. Pinda is a ball, i. e. of rice in this case, and pāṭa is dropping ; hence it means the dropping in of a ball of rice in the Bhikṣu's bowl.

is assigned as a charity grant to the monastery, and the tank along with its appurtenances, and whatever is on it, with the creatures living therein, the revenue in grain and gold, the defects¹ in its condition, and whatever may grow in it spontaneously. The grant is exclusive of whatever may have been given to gods or Brahmans before ; is not to be interfered with by the officers of the king ; and is to last on the principle of a hole² in the earth, as long as the moon, sun, ocean, earth, rivers, and mountains endure. Therefore no one shall obstruct the revered mendicant priests in the act of ploughing the land, causing it to be ploughed or assigning it over (to some person), in virtue of this its condition as an assignment of Gods. All future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind that power is transitory and humanity frail, and knowing the good fruits ordinarily arising from grants of land, should recognize this our grant and continue it. It is said, &c. (the rest as in the translation of the plate [in the preceding article.]). The prince Dhruva-sena is executive officer here.

Engraved by Divirapati Skandabhatta, the son of Divirapati Vatra (?) Bhatti, minister for peace and war. S. 326, the fifth day of the dark half of Māgha.

1 To the list of expressions, the senses of which are not accurately known, given by Prof. Dowson, I might add अप्याप्तिः which occurs in several plates. I have however translated it as in the text.

2 भूमिच्छ्रद्धया—This expression Bhūmicchidranyāya, which occurs in a great many copper-plates, and which no one has yet attempted to explain, may have some reference to the circumstance that holes in the earth are not permanent but are filled up in the course of time. That this fact was often the subject of thought and remark is shown by the story (in the Taitt. Sam. II. 5, and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa VI. 9, and other works) that Indra transferred the sin he incurred by killing Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ—among other objects and persons—to the earth, and in consideration of her having taken it, gave her a boon, that all holes made in her, would be filled up in time. The sense of the sentence then is—that a grant is to last as long as the sun, the moon, &c., shall endure on the principle of holes in the earth (Nyāya means a principle; compare the Takra-Kauṇḍinya and other Nyāyas); that is, as holes in the earth are filled up in time and the earth is whole again and so unchanged, so a grant should survive all revolutions &c., and last unchanged for ever.

My own hand.

PLATE II.

Transcript of the second half of another grant to a Buddhist Monastery, found in the ruins of Va'abhi.

मुखसंपुर्णसंवानिस्त्रृदयार्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममहेश्वरः श्रीशिला.....	(१)	
.....युक्तविनियुक्तक.....महानरा दीनन्या	(२)	
.....समाजापयन्त्यस्तुवस्त्वंविद्वितं यथा मया मानापिन्(पुण्या)प्ययनाय...	(३)	
करितविहारनिवा।सिचतुद्विग्भ्यागतार्थभिक्षुसंघस्य चिवरपिण्डपातशयनामन...।	(४)	
परिष्कारार्थं बुद्धानां भगवतां गन्धधूपपुष्टमाल्यदीपतेलाद्युपयोगार्थं विहारस्य च खण्डस्फुटिनप्रतिम-	(५)	
स्फुरागय पालतीरिलक्ष्मे [?] रक्षरुत्र [?] ग्रामे नद्युन्नरनटे.....	(६)	
क्षेत्रं तथोद्रपद्रकप्रामे	क्षेत्रं सोइङ्गं	(७)
सोपरिकर्त्ता &c. [The rest as usual, a word or two only differing].		
दूतक [:] पुत्रभद्रादित्ययशाः लिखिते संधिविग्रह.....	(१०)	
.....सं २८६ वैशाख व ६॥	(११)	
रवहस्तो मम		

TRANSLATION OF PLATE II.

Śrīśilā.. the great Māheśvara, whose other name, procured for him by the enjoyment.....was Dharmāditya, commands persons in office or holding commissions.....great (and small) and others..... “ Be it known to you, that for the increase of the religious merit of my mother and father, I (have assigned) a field named.....on the northern side of the river, in the village of Rakṣara-putra (?) in Pālatirolahma (?) and also a field.....in the village of Udrapadraka, to the assembly of the revered mendicant priests coming from the four quarters, and residing in the monastery constructed by for (providing) clothing, food, and (the means of) sleeping and sitting..... ...and for the purpose of (providing) fragrant ointment, incense, flowers, oil for lamps for the glorious Buddhas, and for the repairing of the monastery (lit. putting aright the broken parts). These fields are granted by pouring water, along with their appurtenances, &c. &c.” (the rest as usual).

The son Bhāttāditya-yaśāḥ is executive officer here. Written 286 on the 6th day of Vaiśākha Vadya.
My own hand.

A MORBI COPPER-PLATE WITH TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume II, 1873, pp. 257f.]

(This article appeared with the following prefatory Note by the Editor of the Indian Antiquary : " Through the kindness of Major J. W. Watson a loan of this plate was obtained from the Morbi Darbar more than a year ago and a facsimile made, which, however, has only recently been printed. There were two plates a few years ago, but the first has gone amissing : it is supposed that it was lent and never returned. This is greatly to be regretted, as it doubtless gave the genealogy of the royal donor. The date is given in words which interpret the figures for Samvat 585 in the penultimate line. In this the figure 5 is recognisable enough ; the vertical stroke with a line over it for 8, though found elsewhere, is less usual.—Ed.") N. B. U.

TRANSCRIPT.

ह्याण अप्रहारधास्तव्यं O शाण्डिन्य-मग्नाच्छ्राण्डियं O मग्नाच्छ्राण्डियाणन्
जाज्ञाकाभ्या सीहादित्यसुताभ्या पयः पूर्वमाशाङ्कात्परानां च गिर्यं : मैत्रानेषभाग्यनया
मार्तण्डमण्डलाश्राणिग्नि भूर्भानी वालिशर्हैश्चेद्वादि मत्रद्वाक् | कि | याऽर्थं पितॄंगः मनश्च
पुण्यशङ्काभिष्टद्वये प्रतिपादितमत्यांश्च द्वार्ष्मुख्यजनोनं कनापि उडाधिपतिना व्याख्यः परि-
पन्था न वा करणीयो भाविभ्रम्भुमिग्निभिर्घटद्वार्ष्मान्यथां सामान्यं भूमिदानफलम-
नित्यान्वेशर्याणि मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमाहनाहतपदिनीपद्वद्विभ्यनजल [.] कलोन्दामाकल-
य दुःपरिहगद्वयं क्षणिकं च नीचितमाणेऽन्या [च्या] निप्रन्युक्तवर्थनामनिनमर्थजात-
मनिलसंग्रहिणिशिखार्चलमालोच्य वाच्यताच्युतिकर्मसमग्रमण्डलशर्हिद्वयातिथवन-
यशोविनाच्छाद्य नभोभागभिवास्मानपिच्छुद्विग्निस्वच्छमनोभिर्भयर्थनानुभृथ्यमन्ते-
यमस्मद्दर्घ्मवायोनुभृथ्यः । व्याभादिमुनिनिग्निपार्वत्याम्बिर्घन्त्रपरिकल्पितर्थनमहा-
गातकसमयआवृण्य च चिन्नयित्वा भूयो भूयो याचनानुभृथ्यमनेग्निमनुभृथ्य गृह्णि-
[.]
कारोपदित्तं वचः ॥ भृष्टं वरि [र्ष] सहस्राणि रथं निष्टिभूमिः । आच्छुताचातु-
भता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् । इदृनां परदृनां वा यो हंतु [तु] वसुंथगो । गतो शन-
सहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किञ्चिर्यं ॥ विंध्यार्थव्यवताणा [मु] शृङ्ककांदराशमिनः ।
महाहयो हि जायन्ते ब्रह्मदायापहारिणः ॥ यानीह त्रनाने पुण नंदेदानानि भृष्टार्थ-
यशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवातपतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुणद्वीत ॥ द्वन्ति कमल-
दलाद्वुर्ध्वलोलो श्रियमनुर्चित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ॥ मकलभिद्वाहनं च बृधा न हि
पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ पंचाशील्या यृतर्तने समानो शानपंचकं । गोप्त दृश्यत्वो
[.]
दृपः सोपरागेष्ठनण्डले ॥ लक्षद्वर्णालीकं समुचितपद्वयासहचिरं सद्गुणायनाप्न तृग्नष्टु

[हु?] पक्लपस्य नृपतेः । मूरब्ब्येनाभांने द्विजमित्र शिशरवस्तिवचसा लिखउजज्ञायोद [:]
शुचित [?] मना [:] शासनमिति संवत् ५८५ कालयुनसुदि ५ स्वहस्तोर्यं श्रीजाइंकर्त्त्व
शंकरसुनदेहकेषु [नो] त्विरितं ॥ ६ ॥,

TRANSLATION.

[It] is given by pouring water to the Brahmans—and Jājāka, the sons of Sihāditya, residing in the —hmana Agraḥāra, of the Śāndilya gotra and student of the Maitrāyanīya [Śākhā], to be enjoyed by their descendants as long as the moon, the sun, and the oceans endure, on the occasion of Rāhu's touching the disk of the sun, for the performance of the Brahman ceremonies—Bali, Caru and Vaiśvadeva, with a view to the increase of the holy merit and fame of himself and parents. No country officer shall hinder or obstruct these two in the enjoyment of this. And future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind the common fruit arising from grants of land, the transitoriness of all power, and the fact that humanity is as fleeting as a drop of water standing on the leaf of a lotus blown over by a violent breeze; seeing that life is full of ineradicable misery, and momentary; observing that the store of wealth accumulated with excessive toil is as unsteady as the flame of a lamp open to (in contact with) wind; desirous of being free from censure; wishing themselves to be, like the regions of the sky, shrouded in a veil of glory as pure as the light of the autumnal moon with her spotless disk; and endowed with the purest mind—should, at our solicitations, confirm this grant of ours. And having reflected on the declaration of the covenant about the five cardinal sins led down by pious Kings of old, and mentioned by the Munis Vyāsa and others, they should, at our repeated solicitations, remember this saying of the authors of the Smṛtis :—The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years; while he who resumes it or approves of its being so resumed, dwells in hell for as many years. He who takes away the land granted by himself or others incurs the sin of killing a hundred thousand cows. The resumers of Brahman gifts are born as large serpents dwelling in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhya. What good man will resume the gifts made by former kings for the sake of religious merit, prosperity, and fame, which are like flowers once worn or matter vomitted? Thus reflecting that prosperity and hu-

man life are as fleeting as drop of water on a lotus-leaf, and calling to mind all that is said here, one should not blot out the fame of others. Five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed, the king granted this when the disk of the sun was eclipsed. Jajñāgya, of a pure mind has written this charter of the king who rivals Nṛga and Nahusa - a charter containing graceful lines of letters, charming on account of the apt words, distinguished by its various precepts, and shining by its good and auspicious utterances, like a Brahman whose mouth abounds with such. Saṁvat 585, 5th of the bright half of Phālguna. Sign-manual of Jāinka. Engraved by Deddaka, the son of Śāmkara.

TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF A COPPER-PLATE
GRANT OF THE FIFTH CENTURY A. D.,
FOUND IN GUJARAT.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume X, 1871-74, pp. 19ff.]

The paper was read on the 13th of April 1871, before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—N. B. U.

The Tāmra-patrá, a transcript and translation of which I have the pleasure of submitting to the Society to-day, consists of two rectangular plates, each $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $6\frac{3}{4}$ wide, originally joined together by two thick rings passing through two holes in one of the longer sides of each. One of the rings is lost, but the other is in a good state of preservation, and has a conical ball of copper attached to it, on which the seal is impressed. The lines of engraved letters are parallel to the longer sides. The copper-plate was found in a village in the Surat Collectorate by Mr. Manekji Aderji, G. G. M. C., and sent to me to be deciphered and translated.

The characters are a variety of the Devanāgarī, resembling that given in the fourth line of Prinsep's Table, which was used in Gujarat in the early centuries of the Christian era. There is, however, some difference in the formation of several letters. The ज differs from Prinsep's in having the upper-most horizontal stroke turned up and twisted, and the व looks like the Roman B with the perpendicular stroke placed horizontally. There are two varieties of ओ, one resembling that given by Prinsep, and occurring also in the Girnar Inscriptions, which consists of two perpendicular strokes on a horizontal one, that to the left being twisted at the upper end; and the other looks like the Greek p. The न and the mātrā look exactly like those in the modern Devanāgarī. The writing is incorrect in many places, which circumstance increased the difficulty of deciphering.

The language of the copper-plate is Sanskrit. It purports to be a grant of a village named Recchcharam in the district of Añkule-

śvara in Gujarat, to one Nārāyana, the son of Govinda, a Rgvedi Brahman of Kāsyapa Gotra, residing in Abhicchatra. The king who granted it belonged to the Gurjara dynasty, and was named Dadda.* His father's name was Jayabhata, and his grandfather's Dada. From the sign-manual it appears that Dadda had another name, which was Prasānta-rāga, and Jayabhata was also called Vīta-rāga. But these sound like euphonious epithets or titles, and could hardly have been proper names, for the first means "one whose passions are cooled," and the other "one whose passions have disappeared or ceased to exist," expressions which persons who are religious, or affect to be so, delight in. The writer or engraver was a minister of the name of Reva, the son of Mādhava. From the opening benediction, the seat of the dynasty appears to have been Broach. The date is Jyestha, amāvāsyā or new-moon day, 417 of Saka Nīpa, i. e., of the era now known as Śālivāhana's, corresponding to the 9th of June, 495 A. D. The seal bears the name of Dada, grand-father of the reigning sovereign.

The grant is in the usual style of such documents, but bears what I should consider a family likeness to the Valabhi or other Gujarat copper-plates. Several expressions may be quoted in support of this view. The reading, for instance, of some of the verses from Mahābhārata, is the same in all these plates, while in the Southern grants it is different.

In the Seventh Volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is published a transcript of a grant made by a king of the Gurjara dynasty, along with some observations on it. A fresh transcript of it has been given by Prof. Dowson in the first Volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Few Series. In this a few of the mistakes of the first have been corrected. Prof. Dowson has collated with it another grant of the same king,

* The word is Śrimaddadda. If Śri only were taken to be the honorific prefix, as it always is, the name would be Maddadda; if Śrimad, it would be Dadda. Prof. Dowson's facsimiles favour the latter supposition, though Śrimad, I must say, I have never found used as a prefix to the names of kings; and even in the present plate, the prefix is Śri in the case of Jayabhata, the second king. The same remark holds good in the case of the name Dadda.

similar to it in most respects, and given facsimiles of both. The copper-plates were discovered at Kaira by Dr. Burns. These we will distinguish by the Nos. 2 and 3, as the Professor has done. The present grant is by the same king as these two, the reasons for the statement being decisive. The king in Dr. Burns' plates belongs to the Gurjara dynasty, as in the present grant. His name is Praśānta-rāga, as given in the sign manual, which, however, the editors of the Bengal Society's Journal read Praśāṅga-rāga; and his father's name is Jayabhāṭa and also Vitarāga. The writer's name is, as in the present copper-plate, Reva, and six lines of the eulogy of one of the kings correspond, word for word, in all the three. Āṅkuleśvara and Broach are also mentioned there, though the occasion is different. But the grand-father's name is Dada in the present copper-plate, and Sāmantā-datta in both of Dr. Burns', and the second name of the reigning sovereign given in the body of these latter is, according to Prof. Dowson, Śridatta-kuśali, while it is Dadda in the former. Now, there can be no question that the Professor has misread the name of the king; for the word Kuśali means "enjoying health," and is used in mosts of the grants I have seen, where it is only thus to be interpreted. The usage of the country, to this day, also requires that this word, or an expression equivalent to it, should be used by the writer of a letter with reference to himself, before speaking of the matter in hand. Besides, in the present copper-plate and in No. 2, the word preceding Kuśali has the nominative termination (*visarga*) attached to it, which shows that Kuśali is an independent word, and forms no part of the one that precedes. Again, the word Śrī is a mere honorific prefix used before the names of kings; so that the real name is reduced to Datta. Now, referring to the facsimiles, I find that the letters the Professor reads as two *t*'s are exactly similar to the first, which he takes to be a *d*, and are clearly two *d*'s. The name therefore, is Dadda. Again, in the facsimile of No. 3, the king's name looks like Daddam. But the letter which resembles *m*, and is so read by Professor Dowson is in reality the symbol¹ for the Jihvā-mūllya, which according to Pāṇini, VI. I. 3. 37, is an optional substitute for visarga before a hard guttural. The name therefore, may be taken to be the same

¹ I have since seen this symbol, before ^८ in several Valabhi plates.

in all the three plates. Now, as to Samanta-datta, I am inclined to doubt the faithfulness of the fac-similes in this case. For, as the name stands there, it is without the almost indispensable prefix of *Sri* which we find in the case of both the other names and in almost all other copper-plates. This *Sri* has perhaps been misread by the decipherer as *Sā*. And the Datta being in this case also Dadda, the name is very likely the same, or nearly the same, as in the present plate. Or perhaps the word Samanta, signifying as it does "a subordinate prince or chief," may have been used in Nos. 2 and 3 as a title. The dates also of Dr. Burns' plates are perfectly consistent with the supposition of their common origin. That of No. 2 is 380, and of No. 3, 385, i. e., the first grant was made 37 and the second 32 years before the present one. And 37 years are not too long a period for a single reign. Prof. Dowson and the editors of the Bengal Society's Journal consider the dates 380 and 385 to refer to the era of Vikramaditya, but the only reason is the use of the word *Samvatsara*. This word, however, means simply a year, and does not indicate any reference to a particular era. And this is confirmed by its use in the present grant, with the expression *Saka-Nṛpa-kala* before it. The common origin of the three grants, therefore, would necessitate the dates 380 and 385 being taken to refer to the Saka era. For if they were not so taken, the interval between this and the other two grants would be about 171 and 166 years.

But as some antiquarians think that *Saka-Nṛpa-kala* is often confounded with the *Samvat* era "even by indigenous writers,"¹ it may be said that notwithstanding the use of that expression in the present copper-plate its date 417, as well as those of Dr. Burns', may refer to the era of Vikramaditya. This point can, however, be easily determined. In the present grant, mention has been made of the occurrence of a solar eclipse on the day on which it was executed. I wrote to my respected friend Prof. Keru Lakshman, a few days ago, to ascertain if there was such an eclipse on the *Amāvāsyā* or conjunction day of *Jyestha* in the year 417 of *Sāliyāhāna*, and also whether there was a possibility of an eclipse on the same day of the same year of the *Samvat* era. His answer is that, on a rough calculation, he finds

¹ See Dr. Bhau Daji on *Merutūṅga's Theravali*, JBBRAS, Vol. IX, page 156,

32 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. III.]

that on that day, which, supposing the era to be Śālivāhana's, corresponds to the 9th of June, 495 A. D., the distance of the sun from the moon's ascending node was about $12^{\circ} 14'$. He therefore thinks that there was a solar eclipse on that day; but it must have been a partial one, and have begun in the afternoon, a short time before sunset. But on that day of that year of the Saṁvat era, there was, he says, no possibility of an eclipse, since the sun's distance from the node was about 8 signs and 9° . This, therefore, proves that the date of the present copper-plate, and hence those of Dr. Burns' No. 2 and No. 3, refer to the Śaka era; and that the use of the word Saṁvatsara does not by any means show the era to be Vikrama's. And, by the way, it would also appear that it is more reasonable to regard the era used in other Gujarat copper-plates, such as those of the Valabhi dynasty, to be that of the Śaka king, than to assume it as the Saṁvat, since the three plates of the Gurjara dynasty I have been considering, may well be taken to indicate the prevalent usage. And this supposition thoroughly agrees with the Valabhi era discovered by Colonel Tod from a Somnath Inscription, which began in 319 A. D. One would naturally take this era to commence from the date of Bhaṭṭarka, the founder of the family, and not from that of any of his successors, as Mr. Wathen has done without any good reason, though one of these may have brought it for the first time into use. The date of the copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena, the sixth in descent from Bhaṭṭarka, published in the Seventh volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, is 365,¹ which if taken to refer to the Saṁvat would correspond to 309 A. D., i. e., ten years before the foundation of the dynasty. But if, however, the era were assumed to be that of Śālivāhana, the date would correspond to 443 A. D., that is, the interval between the first king of the family and the person sixth in descent from him would be 124 years, which, I think, is a reasonable period. The editors of the

1 I have shown in a paper since read at a meeting of the Society that this date must be read as 356, and that the most probable starting point for the Valabhi era is the coronation of Dronasimha, the second son of Bhaṭṭarka, and in another, published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, that the grantor in the plate referred to in the text, is Śilāditya II, the eighth in descent from Bhaṭṭarka. [Both these papers have been printed, ante. N. B. U.]

Journal, simply from the occurrence of the word Samvatsara, take the era used to be Vikrama's, and give up C. Ionel Tod's discovery of the Valabhi era, from its inconsistency with their supposition. But we see that the two dates are perfectly reconcileable if we take the era of the Saka king instead of the Samvat.

Mr. Thomas has reprinted, in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, the two papers in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal which I have noticed with the remark "that the dates of all these documents require accurate re-examination and revision, and that the geographical questions involved demand even in a greater degree an exact and formal definition."

The present copper-plate grant throws, I think, much light on those questions. We have seen that the era used in this and the other grants of the Gurjara dynasty is that of the Saka king; that the word Samvatsara does not by any means denote the Samvat era, and that if the usage indicated by these grants were understood to be applicable to Valabhi plates, their dates would be consistent with the discovery of Colonel Tod.

The seat of the Gurjara dynasty was Broach. But this appears to have been the name of the city, as well as of the country around it. In the Narmadā-Māhātmya, Bhrgu-Kaccha is mentioned as a holy place on the northern bank of the river, about two miles long from east to west,¹ and the descriptions of many other similar places farther down the river wind up with the remark, "Thus ends the description of such and such a place in Bhrgu-Kaccha." Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, also speaks of a kingdom of Broach. Ankulesvara, mentioned in the plate, has preserved its name unaltered.

About four miles to the north-east of Elas, in the vicinity of which the copper-plate was found, is the village of Walner, which seems to correspond to the Vāranera of the grant. It is eight miles to the South-west of Ankulesvara. The river Varandā appears to be the modern Wand Kharce; and about a mile and a half from Walner is the village of Surham, answering to the Sarathuam [or Arathuam] of our plate. Sunthavadaka, which is

1 रेषाया उन्ने तीरे गमीरं चाभिचारिणं । प्रागुदम्बवणे दृश्यं नीर्यकाटीवभूषितम् ॥ कोशप्राप्तं
तत्क्षेत्रं प्रासादशतं संकुलं चक्रं मुद्रितो भग्यः ॥

mentioned as the eastern boundary of Rāchavam, I have not been able to discover on the map, though there is such a place as Koṭhadara there. But from the other places I have found, Rāchavam, the village conveyed by the grant, appears to be the modern Racheed.

TRANSCRIPT.

- १ अँ स्ति विजयविक्षेपात् भरुकच्छप्रदारनास [श] कात् सकलघनपट्टलविनिर्गत
रजनीकरकरावबोधितकुमुद-
- २ धवलशय [:] प्रतापस्थगितनभे मण्डलोनेकसमरसङ्कटप्रमुखगतनिहतशत्रुसामन्त
कुलवधुप्रभातसम-
- ३ यस्तिक [च्छ] लोद्दीयमानविमलनिलिंशप्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामो-
द्वृष्टवज्रमणिकेटिरुचिरदी-
- ४ धितविराजितमुकुटेद्वासितशिरा: दीननाथातुर [रा] भ्यागतार्थिजन [ना] क्षिष्ठ-
परिपूरितविभवमने रथोपचीयमानविविष्ट-
- ५ पैकसहायधर्मसञ्चयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमनिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपयादितप्रसाद
प्रकाशीकृतविदरधना-
- ६ गरकस्वभवो विमलगुणपञ्जरक्षिमवहुलकलितिमिरानिचयः श्रीमहदस्तस्यसूत्र [:]
समदप्रतिद्विगजघटा-
- ७ भेदिनिलिंशविकमप्रकटितमृगपतिकिसो [शो] रवीर्य [र्या] वलेषः पयोनिधिकृत
उभयतटप्ररूढध [व] नलेख [खा] विहृतनिरंकुशादानप्रवा-
- ८ हप्रवृत्तदिगदन्तिविभ्रमगुणसमूहः स्फटिककर्पूरपिण्डपाण्डुरयशश्वन्दनचर्चितसमुच्चितगगन
लक्ष्मीपयोध-
- ९ रोत्सङ्गः श्रीजयभट्टस्यात्मजः प्रतिहतसकलजगद्यापिदोषाधिकारविजृभितसन्तति-
मोश्वति [ति] रधिकगुरुस्नेह-
- १० संपत्तिमलदशोद्धासितजीवलोकः परमबोधसमानुगतो विपुलगुर्जरनृपान्म [न्व] यप्र-
दीपतामुपगतः
- ११ समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमहदः कुशली सर्वानेव राश्रूपतिविषयपति-
प्रमकृट्यु-
- १२ ककानियुक्तकधिकमहत्तरादीत्समाजापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो-
रत्मनथैवामुभिकपुण्ययशो-

1 This may I think be also read as भरुकच्छपूर्व्वर though the letters exactly look like the प I find in other places in the copper plate.

- १३ भिशुद्ये अभिच्छन्नवस्तव्यत [?] चातुर्विषया [सं] मान्यकश्यपक्ष (स) गोप्त
बहुचस्त्राचारिभृगोविदस्त-
- १४ स्थस्तुभृत्तर [नारा] यण [णा] य बलिचरुवैश्वदेवामिहोषपण्च [श] महाज-
[य] ज्ञादिकियोत्सर्वण [णा] र्थं अङ्गुलेश्वरविषय [या] न्तःपातिराच्छु
- १५ वं ग्रामोस्याघ [घा] टस्थ [।] नानि पूर्वतः वारणेरप्रामः दक्षिणतः वरंदनद [दी]
पश्चिमतः शुठवडकग्रमः उत्तरत-
- १६ अ [स ?] रुअंग्रामः एवमयं स्वचतुराघाटनविशुद्धे प्रामः सेद्राज्ञसपरिकरसधान्यहिर-
प्यदेयसोत्पद्यमानविश्लिक-
- १७ समस्तराजकीयन [यःना] मप्रवेश्यम [मा] चंद्रका [द्राका] र्णवक्षितिसरितपर्वत-
समानकालीनपुलपौत्र त्वयकमोपभेद्यपूर्वप्रतदेव
- १८ ब्रह्मदायवर्जमभ्यातरसिद्ध [माभ्यन्तरासिभ्या] शकनृपकालातीतसंवच्छ [त्स]-
रशतश्चतुष्ट्रेयसपदशा धिकेयेष्ठ [ज्येष्ठा] मावास्यासूर्यप्रा-
- १९ हे उदकादिसर्वेण प्रतिपादितं [तः] यतोस्योचित [या] ब्रह्मदायस्त्वित्या कृष्टतः
कर्षयतो भुजतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिश-
- २० तो वा न व्यासेधः प्रवर्तितव्य [:] तथागामिभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वर्यैरन्यैर्वा
सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य विन्दूलेलन्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्या-
- २१ णि तृणःप्रलमजलविन्दुचण्व [अ] जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्विसे [शे] षोयमस्मर-
दा [दा] योनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यथ तथाचोक्त-
- २२ बहुर्मिर्षुधा भुक्त (क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलम् ॥ यथ [श्वा] ज्ञानतिभिराश्वतमतिरा-
- २३ चिछन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत वा स पञ्च [श] भिर्महापातकैश्वसंयुक्त [:]
स्यादिति उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्याशे [से]
- २४ न व्याशो [से] न षट्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च
तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ यानिह दत्तानि पुरा-
- २५ तनानि दानानि धर्मार्थयस [श] स्कराणि निर्भुकमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
पुनराददीत । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा य-
- २६ त्वाद्रक्षज्ञराधिपः [प] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं । लिखितमिदं संधि-
विग्रह [हा] धिकृतरेवेण म (मा) धवसुतेन श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं मम
- २७ श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य.

TRANSLATION.

Security [freedom] from interruption in the race of victory calculated to violate the gate of the city of Bharukaccha. There was Śrimad-Dada,—whose fame and glory, as purely bright as the lotus blown open by the rays of the moon darting forth from an envelope of clouds, filled the cavity of the sky ;—the bright achievements of whose sword the wives of the inimical chiefs slain by him in the innumerable battles, sang as it were in the morning by means of their cries of lamentation,—whose person was adorned by a crown shining with the resplendent rays of a crore of diamonds polished by being rubbed against the lotus-like feet of gods, Brahmans, and preceptors —whose stock of religious desert, which is the only thing that enables one to go to Heaven, was always increasing in consequence of his liberally fulfilling the desire for wealth of the begging poor, the helpless, the distressed, and of the belated way-farer,—and who, propitiating proud damsels angry on account of love-quarrels by addressing sweet words to them, showed himself to be a skilful gallant,—and who dispersed by his many bright virtues the thick darkness of Kali. His son was Jaya-bhata, who showed the valour of a young lion, by achieving with his sword the destruction of the herds of elephants belonging to his enemies,—and who by his diversions on both sides of the sea, and the unstinted flow of his bounty,¹ realized in himself the qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters,—and who, on the high cloud-breasts² of the sky-Lakṣmi, rubbed sandal-wood ointment in the shape of his glory as pure as a crystal or a ball of camphor. His son Śrimad-Dada, who has dispelled the darkness that grew thick and intense through the power of evil, and overspread the whole earth,—who has purified all the quarters by his very great kindness,³ and embellished the world of the living,—who possesses true knowledge, and has become the luminary of the Gurjara dynasty,—who has obtained the five

¹ There is a play on the word Dāna here, which means, 'giving' as well as the 'humour flowing from the temples of an elephant.' The other words in the compound may also be interpreted in two ways.

² A play on the word Payodhara, which means 'a cloud' as well as the 'female breast'.

³ A play on the word Sneha, which means 'oiliness' as well as 'kindness.'

great sounds, and is the great king of kings,—enjoying good health, commands all governors of districts and sub-divisions; all villagers; those in office or unemployed, great men, chief men, &c. :—

Be it known to you, that for the increase of my father's, mother's and my own, holiness and goodness as regards the next world, I have granted, by pouring water, on the new-moon day of Jyestha, in the year of the Śaka king four hundred and seventeen, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa,—the son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda, residing in Abhicchatra,—respected among persons conversant with the four Vedas,—of the Kaśyapa Gotra, —and student of Bahvṛcha (R̥̄veda), for the proper execution of the rites of Bali, Caru, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihiotra, the five great sacrifices, &c., the village of Rācchchavam, situated in the district of Ankuleśvara, the boundaries of which are the village of Vāra-nera in the east, the river Varanda to the south, the village of Sunthavadaka to the west, and Sarathuam to the north,—this village, with these boundaries specified, along with the hamlets and whatever pertains to it; along with the revenue in grain or gold, and with whatever may be raised on the land by labour except what in the village may have been granted to Gods and Brahmans before—the said grant not to be interfered with by the delegates of the king; to last as long as the moon, the sun, the sea, the earth, rivers, and mountains shall endure, and to be enjoyed from father to son (lit. son to grandson). Therefore, no obstruction should be made to him, who, in virtue of the rights conferred by this Brahman grant, ploughs the land or causes it to be ploughed, enjoys it or makes another enjoy it or assigns it to another person. So also should future kings, whether of our race or others, knowing the fruits ordinarily arising from grants of land, and bearing in mind that prosperity is unsteady like a drop [of water] and transitory, and life as fleeting as a drop of water at the end of a blade of grass, confirm and continue this our grant, as if it were their own. For it is said :—“ Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit to each lasts only so long as he is in possession.” And he who, with his good sense enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, should take away this land or approve another person's doing so,

would be as sinful as if he had committed the five great sins and five minor sins. For it is said by the revered Vyāsa, the editor of the Vedas :—"He who grants land lives in Heaven for sixty thousand years, while he who takes it away, or approves of its being so taken away, passes so many years in hell. The grants made in past times with the view that they might conduce to raise a man's moral desert, wealth, or fame, are like flowers worn and withered. What good man would resume them ? O King, O Thou, the best of the lords of the earth ! do maintain with care a grant of land made whether by thyself or anybody else ; to maintain a grant is a greater virtue than to make one ".

This is written by Reva, the son of Mādhava, counsellor in peace and war. This is the sign-manual of myself, Praśantarāga, the son of Śrī-Vitarāga.

ON THE VALABHI CHRONOLOGY.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume III, 1874, pp. 303f.]

(The following appeared as a letter, dated 24th August 1874, to the Editor of the Indian Antiquary, in reply to a letter from Mr. Jas. Fergusson, charging Sir R. G. Bhandarkar with having "so curiously misquoted him," in his paper on the Interpretation of the Valabhi Dates (printed earlier here). Mr. Fergusson's letter appears in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, pp. 235f.)—N. B. U.

Allow me to say a few words with regard to the charge of misquotation brought against me by Mr. Fergusson.¹ He himself quotes the passage in my article, on which he finds the charge, in a mutilated form; for he omits an important clause at the end, which is calculated to throw light on my real meaning. The whole passage is :—

"Mr. Fergusson refers the dates in the grants to the Valabhi era, but it is difficult to conceive how it should have escaped his notice that 272 year, or, according to the old reading 330 years, is far too long a time for the reigns of Bhaṭṭārka, his four sons, and his grandson Guhasena, supposing even that the era began from the date of the original founder of the dynasty, and not from that of Dronasimha's Coronation." The words in Italics have not been given by Mr. Fergusson.

It would, I think, appear from this that my meaning is as follows :—On the supposition that the era of the Valabhi dynasty began with the founder of the dynasty or with Dronasimha's Coronation,—the only rational suppositions that can be made,—it would be necessary to assign 272 or 330 years or thereabouts to the six reigns,—a period which is too long, if the dates in the Valabhi plates were taken to refer to the Valabhi era. This necessity has, "escaped Mr. Fergusson's notice," i. e., he has left out of sight the fact that the only rational hypothesis is that the era should have derived its initial date from either of the two events; and also the consequences of the fact, viz. that it

*. Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, pp. 235f.

would be necessary to assign too long a period, i. e., 272 or 330 years to these six reigns. This is my meaning. I have not said categorically that Mr. Fergusson assigns 272 or 330 years to the six reigns. It was thoroughly immaterial to my argument how many years he actually assigned to those reigns, which assignment must be quite arbitrary.. My object was to give reasons why the Valabhi dates should not be referred to the era of the dynasty, and this I have done in the sentence complained of by Mr. Fergusson. I think the gist of my paper as a whole, and the concluding clause I have italicized, ought to have saved me from being misunderstood ; but since they have not proved adequate to the task, I see I ought not to have been so brief as I was at the end of the article. I have so little succeeded in making myself understood, that Mr. Fergusson still says that no one has " given any reason why the Valabhi Kings should use any other era than that that bears their name." I cannot say why they should not have used their era, but I believe they did not use it ; for if they did, it would be necessary to assign 272 or 330 years to the six reigns on the only rational suppositions about its initial date stated above. But if they did use the so-called Valabhi era, the era could not have been theirs. But of this more below.

The period of 120 years assigned by Mr. Fergusson to these six reigns appears to me to be too long ; for though the reigns are six, the generations are only three; for, the sixth individual, Guhasena, was the grandson of the first Bhatarka, and the usual average of twenty years is held applicable in these cases in which the reigns represent so many generations. Bhatarka must have been a middle-aged man, when he founded the kingdom ; and the period between the time when a man arrives at that age and the death of his grandson is in very rare cases so long as 120 years. The tradition which Mr. Fergusson adduces in support of his view is very vague. Supposing it to be trustworthy in every way--which it is not, as I will give reasons to believe--Skandgupta may have reigned for even 20 or 30 years after 141, and Sri Dharasena may have begun his reign even 20 years before 272, in which case, the duration of the six reigns would be reduced to 91 or 81 years. But the tradition itself, though interesting as giving the truth generally, cannot be considered to be true in the

particulars. For in the first place it makes Cakrapāni, the son of Prandat, who is certainly the Cakrapālita, son of Parnadatta of the Junagadh Inscription,¹ Viceroy of the father of Kumāragupta, and grandfather of Skandgupta, while the Inscription represents Parnadatta as Skandagupta's Viceroy, and Cakrapālita as Governor of a certain town, appointed to that place by his own father. Again, Skandagupta is represented as a weak king in the tradition; while his Inscriptions, magniloquent though they are, do show that he must have been a powerful monarch. Lastly, Bhaṭṭāka is mentioned as having assumed the title of king, while Valabhi copper-plates speak of him as a Sēnāpati and represent Dronasiinha his second son, to have first assumed the title.² The tradition, therefore, is not entitled to any reliance as regards the particulars. It simply gives us what was known before that the Valabhis succeeded the Guptas.

Now as to the general question of the Valabhi chronology, and of the era to which the dates in the copper-plate grants are to be referred, I have recently seen reasons to modify the opinion I expressed more than two years ago. Even then the mention of Valabhi by Hwan Thsang as a flourishing city, and of Druvapati as its king, seemed to me not to harmonize with my view; but having brought the known kings of that dynasty upto 434 A. D.,³ I was in hopes that further researches might bring to light the names of other kings, so as to bring the dynasty down to Hwan Thsang's time. But three copper-plates have since turned up, yet none of them goes beyond the last king of the former plates, Śilāditya II. And the characters of the Valabhi grants are so different from, and so much modern than, those of Gautamiputra's Inscription at Nasik, which I have recently translated, along with most of the other Nasik Inscriptions, that it appears that from two to three centuries must have elapsed between Gautamiputra and the Valabhis. Gautamiputra I have, in common with Mr. Fergusson,

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. VII, pp. 122, 123.

² Mr. Wathen's plate, JASB, Vol. IV, and another in my possession containing a grant by Guhasena, not yet translated.

³ Ind. Ant. Vol. I, page 45, and JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 75. [These articles are printed in the preceding pages of this volume.]—N. B. U.

assigned to the first quarter of the fourth century. The Valabhi characters resemble very much those in the Cālukya grants of the early part of the eighth century.¹ For these and other reasons I have begun to think that the Valabhi dates must be referred to an era other than the Śaka. But that they cannot be referred to what is considered as the era of the dynasty, I still maintain, for the reasons I have given in my paper and explained above. It appears to me, there is some confusion about this era. Albiruni calls it the era of Ballaba and Col. Tod's Somnāth Inscription, the era of Śrimad Balabhi as if Ballaba or Balabhi were the name of an individual. But in the dynasty of Bhaṭṭārka there is no king of that name, so that it is doubtful, whether the era was really of Bhaṭṭārka's family. If the era was not the era of the dynasty, but was in use in Surāstra before the foundation of the dynasty, the Valabhi dates may be referred to it. Or more likely, since the Guptas who preceded that dynasty, introduced their era into the country, the grants must have been dated in that era. But there is no difference in effect, since the initial dates of both are the same. I thus see much reason for the present to agree with Mr. Fergusson in the Valabhi chronology he has given in his paper, except in so far as he has adopted the dates misread by the previous translators,² though there is difference between us as to the era, which is rather of a verbal nature. I therefore arrange the Valabhi kings thus :--

Guhasena (grant not yet translated) 250 G. or 568 A. D.

Dharasena II (grant translated by Wathen) 272 G. or 590 A.D.
Śilāditya I (grant translated by me,³ Ind. Ant. Vol. I, p. 45f.)

286 G. or 604 A. D.

Dharasena IV (two grants translated by me,⁴ Ind. Ant. Vol. I, pp. 14ff and 45f) 326 G. or 644 A. D.

Śiladitya II (two grants) 356 G or 674 A. D.

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. III.

² JRAS, Volume IV (New Series).

³ This is included ia this volume earlier.—[N. B. U.]

⁴ This is also included in this volume earlier.—[N. B. U.]

**A REVISED TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF
A CĀLUKYA COPPER-PLATE GRANT
WITH REMARKS ON THE GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY
OF THE EARLY KINGS OF THE CĀLUKYA DYNASTY.**

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XIV, 1878-80 pp.16ff.]

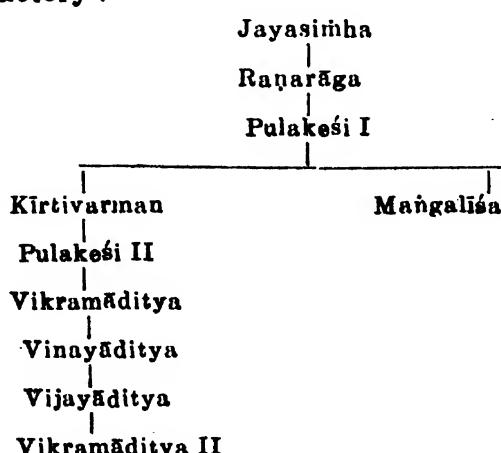
(Read before the Society on the 6th of April 1878.)

The copper-plate grant, a transcript and translation of which I have the pleasure to submit to the Society to-day, was procured by Government at the request of Mr. James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, and was referred to the Society for remarks. The Secretary had the kindness to forward it to me, and as I had been informed that it was a grant of the Cālukya dynasty, in the early history of which there are still so many doubtful points, I took it up with eagerness, hoping by its assistance to clear up some of these ; but, on reading it, was disappointed to find that it was identically the same as that translated by Prof. Bal Gangadhar Shastri, and published in the Second Volume of the Journal of this Society. I have, however, prepared a fresh transliteration, strictly faithful, reproducing even the mistakes of the original, and a translation. But there is no difference of any importance between this and Prof. Bal Shastri's. He has in one place read अ and ए as ए. I have replaced the vowels. My translation also varies a little from his, especially in the latter part.

This is all that I need have said on the present occasion ; but there are one or two very important points with regard to the chronology of this dynasty, as gathered from Inscriptions recently published, which remain doubtful, and which I have been often revolving in my mind with a view to be able to throw light on them. I will, therefore, embrace this opportunity to discuss them. But before I proceed, it will be necessary to summarize the information that we possess about the earlier Cālukya kings.

Sir Walter Elliot was the first antiquarian who, from an examination of certain Inscriptions, published a genealogy and a short account of this dynasty, in the Fourth Volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Subsequently he gave an

amended list in a number of the Madras Literary Journal. But facsimiles or transcripts of the Inscriptions from which he derived his information were not published, and when other documents were subsequently discovered, it became a difficult matter to reconcile, in some cases, the information obtained from these with that given by him, and there were some inconsistencies even in the two lists he had published. He had, however, made a large collection of Inscriptions, a good many of which he himself had not examined. One copy of the Deccan series of this collection, he says in a letter addressed to the Editor of the Indian Antiquary, he forwarded at the time to the Bombay Literary Society; but it is not forthcoming. Another he presented to the Literary Society of Madras, a third to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and a fourth he reserved for his own use. This last was subsequently presented to the Library of the Edinburgh University, and now it is in the hands of Mr. Fleet, who has been publishing several important Inscriptions from it in the Indian Antiquary. In the mean time, a photograph of a valuable Inscription of this dynasty from Iwulli or Aihole was published in the Volume issued by the Committee of Architectural Antiquities in Western India; and another, in the cave at Badami, was discovered and published by Mr. Burgess. From these materials, and from the grants published by Sir LeGrand Jacob in the Third Volume of the Journal of this Society, the following genealogy of the early Cālukya kings may be deduced, which to my mind is entirely satisfactory:—



The names of the first six kings are given in the Aihole Inscription composed by a Jain of the name of Ravikīrti. One of them,

Mangaliśa, is not mentioned in the grants executed by subsequent kings, and the reason is obvious, for the object was to give the pedigree of the grantor, and not the names of all the kings that reigned before him. The Inscription at Badami, however, was engraved at the orders of that king, and his having occupied the throne is alluded to in the subsequent grants, including the one before the Society to-day, where it is said that Pulakesi II, by his power, got back his own kingdom and subjugated those of other kings. Mangaliśa, as is evident from Ravikirti's Inscription, intended to transmit the sovereignty to his own son, passing over Pulakesi, but the latter baffled his endeavours. This Pulakesi is represented, in almost all the grants in which his name is mentioned, to have defeated Harsavardhana, the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Hwan Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India in the time of Harṣavardhana. The Pulakesi, therefore, whom he met in Mahārāṣṭra must have been the same king, i. e., Pulakesi II.

The genealogy given above agrees with Sir Walter Elliot's first list. But between Pulakesi II and Vikramāditya he inserts two names--Amara and Ādityavarmā. Since in most of the plates Vikramāditya is styled the beloved son of Pulakesi, and in one of Sir LeGrand Jacob's grants, his eldest brother is named Indrāditya, and in another, Candrāditya, it follows that Pulakesi made Vikramāditya, though a younger son, his successor, and probably appointed the others to rule over other provinces. These may be the Amara and Ādityavarmā of Sir Walter Elliot. The names of these two princes, somewhat disguised, occur also in the Miraj Inscription published by Mr. Wathen.¹ But the statement that Amara was Pulakesi's son, Ādityavarmā, Amara's, and Vikramāditya, Ādityavarmā's, must be rejected as occurring in a grant executed about four centuries after they flourished, in favour of that made in a great many contemporary plates.

In the time of Pulakesi II, Viṣṇuvardhana, his younger brother founded the Eastern branch of the dynasty, which ruled over Tailangāna. Another younger brother is the Jayasimha of our plate, whose son Nāgavardhana was the grantor of the village conveyed by it. These are called simple rājas, or chiefs, and appear

¹ JRAS, Vols. II and III.

to have been appointed to rule over some petty provinces, and were distinct from the princes of the Eastern line. This last point is indicated by the fact that the seal of the former, attached to the grant before us, bears the expression भूजयाभ्यं engraved on it, probably after the name of Jayasiinha the first prince; while that of the latter, as found in their grants, has the words श्रीविष्वमतिष्ठः.¹ This was one of the titles of Visnuvardhana. In Prof. Bal Shastri's first plate this epithet is used before the name of Visnuvardhana,² whence it appears that this prince was identical with the founder of the Eastern line. The device on the seals of these two branches is the same, viz. a crescent on the top, and the sun below. The kings mentioned in Prof. Dowson's plate³ also do not appear to have belonged to the main line. This grant seems to me, from the style, which is so different from that of the other Cālukya plates, and from the omission of the name of the era, which is always given in these latter, to have been forged by somebody in Gujarat, where it was found. No other grant of the early Cālukyas has, to my knowledge, yet been discovered in that province; and in the two points I have mentioned, Prof. Dowson's plate resembles those of the Valabhi and Gūrjara kings.

Some of the dates⁴ given by Sir Walter Elliot are hopelessly inconsistent with those we find in the published grants. Until the originals in which they occur are published, no attempt can be made to reconcile them. But if those occurring in the documents now rendered available to all inquirers, do not conflict with each other, we may rely on their perfect truthfulness. One important Inscription, however, that of Ravikirti at Aihole, gives a date which is inconsistent with that found in the grant of the Great Pulakesi. This latter was executed in Śaka 534, which is represented as the third year of his reign, so that Pulakesi came to the throne, after his uncle Maṅgalisa, in 532 Śaka, corresponding 610 A. D. But Ravikirti represents him to have been reigning, after having conquered all his enemies and defeated the para-

¹ Burnell's South Indian Palaeography, Pl. A, p. 75.

² JBBRAS, Vol. II, p. 11.

³ JRAS, Vol. I, N. S.

⁴ So also is the date 411 Śaka of Pulakesi I, occurring in an Inscription published by Mr. Wathen in JRAS, Vol. V. p. 345.

mount sovereign of the North, in Śaka 506, corresponding to 586 A. D. The date in the grant appears more probable, since from the account of the Chinese traveller it is clear that the defeat of Harsavardhana must have taken place between the years 618 and 627 A. D. Under these circumstances Dr. Fergusson, as a zealous student of Indian antiquities, and carrying with him the sympathies of all fellow-labourers in the field, feels sorely disappointed with these Inscriptions, and in a letter addressed to the editor of the Indian Antiquary, dated 30th January 1873, asks the learned readers of that Journal "whether they can offer any solution of this difficulty, or whether, on the contrary, we must be prepared to meet with such falsifications again in other places."

Mr. Fleet, in March 1877, attempts an explanation. He thinks that the Eastern and Western branches of the dynasty separated in Śaka 533, and that Pulakesi was crowned again; and hence the statement in the grant that Śaka 534, or, according to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it, 535, was the third year of his reign, — i. e., Pulakesi was actually reigning in Śaka 506, as we are told by Ravi-kirti, but that he was crowned again in Śaka 533. The separation of the two families could certainly be no sufficient ground for crowning him again, and for neglecting the first years of his reign; and this explanation leaves out of consideration altogether the disagreement of this date with that gathered from the Chinese writer, for Pulakesi could not, according to the statements of these, have defeated Harsavardhana before 506 Śaka or 584 A. D.

Again, Ravi-kirti gives two other dates as corresponding to his 506 Śaka, viz., 3550 of the Kaliyuga, and 3739 of the era of the war of the Mahābhārata. Now the Śaka era began in Kali 3179, which being subtracted from 3550 of the Inscription, gives 371 as the Śaka year corresponding to Kali 3550, so that, if the Kali era from which Ravi-kirti calculated is the same as ours, he is perfectly inconsistent with himself.

Dr. Buhler removes this inconsistency by referring the date 507¹ (506+1) to the era of Vikrama, for by subtracting 3044,

¹ Since in giving the date as referred to an era, the writers of these documents use an expression which signifies "having elapsed," Dr. Bühler and Mr. Fleet think the year next following to be the year that was current when the document was written, and so add one to the given date.

which is the number of Kali years that had elapsed before the era began, from 3551 (3550 + 1), we get 507.¹ "It seems evident" to him that the writer has referred his real Vikrama date to the Śaka era, either intentionally or inadvertently. Inadvertently, it is hard to believe, since instead of the ordinary expression, he uses the word शकानामपि शुभम् in order that they may fit in with his metre, and it must have cost him some conscious effort to devise them. He must, therefore, have done so intentionally. But what could have been his motive? None, that I can see. Besides, as Dr. Bühler himself tells us, the Vikrama era is not used in the Cālukya records, and, I may add, it was never known in the South. But, with all this, the explanation only increases the difficulties we have been considering. It places Pulakesī earlier than the date given in his grant by, not 26 years as before, but by 26 + 135, the latter being the number of years by which the Vikrama is earlier than the Śaka, and necessitates the supposition that the Harsavardhana, the paramount sovereign of the North defeated by him, was not the one usually known by that name, but another, and that the Pulakesī, seen by Hwan Thsang and represented even by him as invincible to Harsavardhana, was also another prince. But no other paramount sovereign of the North, bearing the name and living before the seventh century, has yet been discovered; nor do we know of a Pulakesī living in that century that was not the son of Kirtivarman, and the nephew and successor of Mangalīsa. In other words, there was no Harsavardhana for Dr. Bühler's Pulakesī of the fifth century to defeat; nor a Pulakesī to be the invincible rival of the Harsavardhana of the seventh, if the son of Kirtivarman is placed two centuries earlier. The dates in the grants of all subsequent kings of both the branches of the Cālukya family, which at present harmonize with that actually found in Pulakesī's copper-plate, will have, under Dr. Bühler's explanation, similarly, to be made earlier by 135 years.

The fact, however, is that the agreement between the account given by Hwan Thsang and the statements and dates we find in the Cālukya plates is so complete, that it is impossible to doubt that the later Pulakesī, mentioned by Ravikirti, and in the

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 152.

grants, was really the invincible foe of Hwan Thsang's Harsavardhana, and must have lived in the seventh century.

Under these circumstances let us see whether we cannot arrive at such an interpretation of the verses in Ravikirti's Inscription as will remove all the discrepancies we have been noticing. They are as follow :—

श्रीशत्यु विसर्वेषु भारताऽहवाश्चितः । सप्ताष्टशतयूक्ते पु शनेष्टव्येषु पञ्चसु ॥
पञ्चवाशत्यु कलै नहु पञ्चवशतासु च । समाप्तु समरीयामु शकानामपि भूभूजाम् ॥

Before proceeding, it must be observed that the eras of the war of the Bhārata and of the Kaliyuga are not two different eras. The Kaliyuga era, when referred to the legendary history of the country, becomes the era of the Bhārata war, since this, according to all authorities, took place at the end of the Dvāpāra and the beginning of the Kaliyuga. Similarly, when referred to the most prominent person in the story—the king who after having crushed all his enemies reigned supreme, it becomes the era of Yudhiṣṭhīra. That the era of Yudhiṣṭhīra is the same as that of the Kaliyuga appears clear from the statements in the ordinary Hindu Pañcāṅga or Almanac. "In the Kali age there are six founders of eras. First, there was Yudhiṣṭhīra in Indraprastha, whose era lasted for 3,044 years; the second was Vikrama, (who flourished) at Ujjayini, whose era had a run of 135 years; the third was Śalivāhana at Pratiṣṭhāna, whose era is to last for 18,000 years."¹ Now, whatever the number of years for which the Śalivāhana era, as the Śaka era is called in modern times, will last, it is certain that it has lasted for 1799 years, and the 1800th year has commenced. Adding 3,044, 135, and 1,800, we get 4,979, which is exactly the present Kali year given in the Pañcāṅga. So that if the era of Yudhiṣṭhīra had continued to be used, the present would have been its 4979th year, as it is of the Kali. The two eras, therefore, are one and the same.

Now, the manner in which dates are given in these Inscriptions is "so many years of or after so and so having elapsed," which is expressed by using the locative absolute of the numeral, of a word denoting "year," and of a participle signifying "lapse." The following are the words occurring in the Ślokas :—

¹ Ganpat Krishnaji's Pañcāṅga for Śaka 1800, p. 2.

30,3,000, from the Bhārata war to this, together with 700 years, hundreds, years, 5.

50, in the Kali age, 6, and 500, years of the Śaka kings having elapsed.

Now Dr. Bhau Daji and Mr. Fleet take the first 30,3,000, and 700 together, and form 3,730 from the war of the Bhārata. Out of the next three numerals, i. e., 5, hundreds, and 50, by taking 5 to agree with hundreds we have 550. This they tack on to "in the Kali age"; but since this is too small a period for that era, 3,000, which has already been construed with the preceding, is here repeated, and the whole is made 3,550. We have now 6 and 500 left, and this is assigned to the Śaka.

Now the objections to this interpretation are:—First, that the Kali and Bhārata eras are not different. Secondly, this repetition of 3,000, after it has once been construed, is altogether arbitrary: why not repeat the hundreds also? Thirdly, while you have the word Samatītāsu "having elapsed," to qualify the feminine substantive Samāsu "year,"—in the case of the Śaka, you have no such word before to agree with the substantive Abdesu, and the feminine Samatītāsu cannot be brought back, as Abda is either masculine or neuter.

Now, I think that the word Śatesu "hundreds," which we have before Abdesu "years," ought to be Gatesu "having elapsed," and then it will qualify Abdesu, as Atitāsu does Samāsu. What constitutes the difference between the अ sa and अ ga of the cave characters is that the former has a small stroke in the interior of its semi-ellipse, while the latter has none. Now, it is quite possible that the engraver should have easily committed the mistake of putting in a stroke where it was not wanted, especially since the letter with the stroke, he had to engrave just four letters before. And several such mistakes do occur in this Inscription. My interpretation, therefore, is this:—

"30,3,000, together with 700, 5 (i. e., 3,735) years having elapsed since the war of the Bhārata."—Here the first verse ends.—"In the Kali age, 50, 6, and 500 (i. e. 556) years of the Śaka kings also having elapsed.' This is the sense of the second verse. The words 'in the Kali age' may be connected with both, and the ex-

pression does not indicate a particular era, but a certain period in the existence of the world. It is used here in the same way in which, when we begin our religious ceremonies, we use it in mentioning the day of the month and year.

We thus obtain two dates from this Inscription, the Bhārata date, which is the same as the Kali date, 3,735, and the Śaka date 556. Now, subtracting the Kali and Śaka equation¹ (3,179) from 3,735, we have 556 as the Śaka corresponding to that Kali date : i. e., the 3,735th year of the Kali was the 556th as the Śaka. Thus Ravikīrti's inconsistency is removed. Again, instead of 506 Śaka for Pulakeśi, we get 556 Śaka or 634 A. D., which perfectly harmonizes with his having begun to reign in Śaka 532, or 610 A. D., and with the date of his defeat of Harsavardhana, which took place between 618 and 627 A. D., since Ravikīrti speaks in 6¹4 A.D., of Pulakesi having done so before he wrote.

There is another date which does not harmonize with the rest. In the Badami Inscription of Mangalisa, the 501st year of the Śaka era is mentioned as the tenth of his reign, so that his brother Kirtivarman, whom he succeeded, must have died in 488 Śaka, or 566 A. D. Now, since Pulakesi, his son, had two younger brothers, he must have been, when his father died, at least five years old, so that when Hwan Thsang saw him, in about 639 A. D., he must have been at least 78 years old. A man verging on 80 can hardly be a man of vigour, as Pulakesi was when the Chinese pilgrim saw him.

As to this, it must be borne in mind that the grantor of land is not necessarily in every case the reigning sovereign. The Nāgavardhana of our plate, for instance, did not belong to the reigning line of the Cālukya princes, and we have seen that of the grants published by Sir LeGrand Jacob, two were made by the wife of Vikramāditya's elder brother. There is nothing in the Inscription at Badami to show that Mangalisa, who dedicates the cave temple to Viṣṇu, and assigns a village for the support of sixteen Brahmans and of recluses, was reigning at the time. On the contrary--from the manner in which he resigns all the religious merit arising from the act, in favour of his elder brother

¹ Ante, p. 265.

Kṛtivarman, who is represented as powerful enough to protect the whole earth, calls upon the gods Aditya and Agni and the assembled crowd of men to witness this act, as if to show his sincerity, and to disarm the jealousy that might arise in the mind of his brother and that of other persons, and claims for himself only the fruit resulting from serving his brother faithfully, --it appears to me pretty clear that he was not. Dedications for the benefit of departed souls were not made in such a manner, the usual formula being "for the increase of the religious merit of such and such a one," as will be seen even from the grant before us. Maṅgalaśa was probably his brother's general or lieutenant, and thus characterizes his act as a piece of obedient service. The twelfth year of the reign of some prince, therefore, in which the cave-temple was consecrated must have been the twelfth year of Kṛtivarman's reign. If so, the latter, and not Maṅgalaśa, came to the throne in Śaka 488, or A. D. 566.

And now we are enabled to explain the dates given in Mr. Telang's plates,¹ which otherwise are altogether unintelligible. Ravikirti expressly states that Maṅgalaśa became king after the death of his brother, and that he conquered the Revatidvipa. Mr. Telang's grant was made in 532 Śaka and the twentieth year of some reign, by the governor of four districts, who was stationed in Vijaya-Revatidvipa, and acted under the orders of Pr̥thivi-Vallabha Mahārāja. This date is so near to the time of the conqueror of Revatidvipa that the island may very reasonably be regarded as being subject to the Cālukyas at the time. And that it was so, is proved by the Cālukya title, Pr̥thivi-Vallabha-Mahārāja of the sovereign, to whom the grantor owed allegiance. Kṛtivarman could not be this Cālukya prince, for the island was not conquered in his time. Neither could he be Pulakesī, for Śaka 532 was not the twentieth year of his reign, but the first or the next before the first, if we adopt the interpretation alluded to in a previous foot-note. He must then have been Maṅgalaśa. But Śaka 532 could not have been the twentieth year of his reign, if, according to the received way of understanding the date in the Badami Inscription, his accession took place in 488 Śaka. While if we take this to be the initial date of Kṛtivarman's reign, all

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. X, pp. 365-6.

that it is necessary for us to understand to render the whole consistent is that Kirtivarman died in 512 Śaka, or 590 A. D., after a reign of 24 years, and his brother succeeded him. Pulakesi was crowned in 532 Śaka (610 A. D.), or in 533 Śaka (611 A. D.), wherefore Mangalīśa reigned for just twenty years, and Mr. Telang's grant was made in the last year of his reign. In this manner, when Hwan Thsang saw Pulakesi in 639 A. D., 49 years must have elapsed since his father's death, and not 73, as according to the other view of Mangalīśa's date it is necessary to suppose. And if his age at the time was five years, he was 54 years old when the Chinese pilgrim saw him, and not 78, and may thus have appeared to him to be a man of vigour.

The other dates do not present such inconsistencies, and may be accepted as true. We thus arrive at the following chronology :—

Kirtivarman 566 A. D. to 590 A. D. (Śaka 488-512), reigned for 24 years (according to Badami Inscription, Ind. Ant., Vol. III, p. 305, and Mr. Telang's grant, JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 365).

Mangalīśa, 590 A. D. to 610 A. D. (Śaka 512-532), reigned for 20 years (Mr. Telang's grant, and Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 72).

Pulakesi II, began to reign in 610 A. D. (Śaka 532—Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 72); was on the throne in 634 A. D. (Śaka 556—Ravikirti's Inscription, Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 70); was seen by Hwan Thsang in 638-9 A. D.

Vikramāditya died in 679 A. D. (Śaka 601—Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 86).

Vinayāditya began to reign in 679 A. D. (601 Śaka—Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 86); was reigning in 691 A. D. (Śaka 613—Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 89), and in 694 A. D. (Śaka 616—Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 92); died in 695 A. D. (Śaka 617—JBBRAS, Vol. III, p. 203), after a reign of 16 years.

Vijayāditya began to reign in 695 A. D. (Śaka 617), and was reigning in 705 A. D. (Śaka 627—JBBRAS, Vol.

III, p. 203); died in 733 A. D. (Śaka 655—Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 107) after a reign of 38 years.

Vikramāditya II began to reign in 733 A. D. (Śaka 655), and was on the throne in 734 (Śaka 656—Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 107).

TRANSCRIPT.

- १ अँ स्ति जवत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वर्गाहं क्षोभितर्णवं । दक्षिणोच्चत-
- २ दंष्ट्रप्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः ॥ श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमा-
- ३ नव्यसगोद्राणां हरीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिः सप्तमातृभि-
- ४ रभिवधितानां कात्तिकेयपरिक्षणावासकल्याणपरंपराणां
- ५ भगवत्तारायणग्रसादसमासादितवराहलाङ्घनेक्षण-
- ६ क्षणवशकृताशेषमहिमृतां चलुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिणोर-
- ७ इवमेधावमृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीकीर्तिवर्म्म-
- ८ राजस्यात्मजोनेकनरपतिशतमकुट्टटकेऽठिष्ठृष्टचरणारवि-
- ९ एवो मेरुमलयमन्दरसमानधैर्योहरहरभिवर्धमानवरकरि-
- १० थतुरथपदातिबलो मनोजवैककंठचित्राख्यः प्रवरतुरंग-
- ११ मेणोपार्जितस्त्रराज्यविजितचेत्तेलपण्डकमागतराज्यत्र-
- १२ यः श्रीमदुत्तरापथधिपतिश्रीहर्ष-
- १३ पराजयोपलब्धापरनमधेयः श्रीनागवर्धनपादानुव्या-
- १४ ध्याक्षमरममाहेश्वरः श्रीपुलकेशिवलभः तस्यानुजो भ्राता विजिता-
- १५ रिसकलपश्चो धराश्रयः श्रीजयसिङ्गवर्मराजस्तस्य सूनुस्तुभुवना-
- १६ श्रयधीनागवर्धनराजः सर्वानेवागामिवर्चमानभविष्यांश्च नरप-
- १७ तीम्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्मभिर्गोपराष्ट्रविषयांत-
- १८ पातिबलेग्राम सेत्रङ्गः सपरिकर अचाटभटप्रवेश्य आचंद्रकर्णव-
- १९ क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन मतापित्रोरुद्दिश्यात्मनश्च विषुलपुण्ययशोभि-
- २० वृथ्यर्थ बलाम्मठकुरविज्ञपिक्या कापालेश्वरस्य गुग्गुलपूजानिमित्त-
- २१ तनिवासिमहाब्रतिभ्य उपमोगाय सलिलपूर्वकं प्रतिपादितस्तदस्म-
द्वैरै-
- २२ रन्यैर्वर्गामिनृपतिभि शरदप्रचंचलं जीवितमाकलग्न्यायंमस्मद्योनु-
मतव्य-
- २३ प्रतिपालभितव्यघेत्युक्तं भगवता व्यासेन बहुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता राज-
- २४ भिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा फलभिति ।
- २५ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां पष्ठिं वरिष्पसहस्राणि विष्णायां
जायते कृमिः ॥

TRANSLATION.

Welfare.

Victorious is Visnu, manifested in the form of a boar, who agitated the ocean, and on the tip of whose uplifted tusk rested the earth. The son of the prosperous king Kirtivarman,—the stay of truth, whose body was purified by the closing ablutions of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, and who was the ornament of the race of the Cālukyas, who are prosperous, belong to the gotra of Manu, which is praised by the whole world, are the sons of Hārīti, are bred up by the seven goddesses of the world, resembling seven mothers, have obtained a succession of blessing through the protection of Kārttikeya, to whom all kings become subject immediately they see the Boar standard, obtained by the favour of the divine Nārāyana,—was the great devotee of Maheśvara, the prosperous Pulakesivallabha, whose lotus-like feet were subject to the friction of the borders of the crowns of many hundred kings, whose firmness was as great as that of the Meru, the Malaya, and the Mandara ; whose forces consisting of excellent elephants, chariots, horses, and foot-soldiers were daily increasing ; who won back his own dominions and conquered the three old kingdoms of Cera, Cola, and Pāṇḍya, by [seated on the back of] the one excellent horse named Kantha-Citra, whose speed was as great as that of the mind ; who obtained a new title by defeating Śri-Harṣa, the lord of the Northern country ; and who meditated on the feet of Nāgavardhana. His younger brother was the prosperous king Jayasinha-varman, who conquered all the allies of his enemies, and was the support of the world. His son, the prosperous king Nāgavardhana, the stay of the three worlds, informs all coming, present, and future kings :—“Be it known to you that we have, by pouring water, granted, at the request of Bālamma Thakkura, for the worship of Kāpaleśvara by offerings of Guggula, and for the benefit of the great ascetics residing there (in the temple), with a view to the increase of the religious merit and fame of our mother, father, and of ourselves, [the village of] Balegrāma, situated in the district of Goparāstra, with the things growing on it, and with appurtenances, not to be entered on (interfered with) by officers and soldiers, and [the gift] to last as long as the

moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth endure. Therefore, future kings, whether of our race or others, bearing in mind that life is as transient as the autumnal clouds, should respect this our gift, and continue it. The revered Vyāsa has said, "Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit is reaped only by him who owns it, and at the time when he owns it. He who takes away the land given by himself or others lives as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years."

THE RĀSTRAKŪTA KARHAD PLATES OF KRŚNA III.
OF ŚAKA SAMVAT 880.

[From the Epigraphia Indica, Volume IV, 1896-97, pages 278-290.]

These copper-plates were found at Karhad in the Satara District while the foundations of an old and dilapidated house were being dug out, and were put into my hands by Mr. Hari Narayan Apte, the present manager of the Ānandāśrama in Poona. They are three in number, and each is $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and 9 inches broad. The first and the third plates are engraved on one side, and the second on both. The letters are well-formed and legible throughout, except in one place where an original mistake has been corrected by something else being engraved in its place (line 21).

The inscription on the plates records the grant of the village of Kankem (ll. 62 and 65), situated in the district of Karahāṭa and belonging to the Kalli group of twelve (l. 61 f.), by Kṛṣnarāja (v. 24), who was also called Akālavarṣa and Vallabha (l. 55), and who was Kṛṣṇa III of the Rastrakūṭa family. The grantee was Gaganaśiva ((ll. 61 and 65), was versed in all the Śiv Siddhāntas. He was the pupil of Isānaśiva of Karahāṭa (l. 59 f.), —the modern Karhad ;—and the grant was made for the maintenance of the ascetics that lived at the place (l. 61).

The date of the grant was Wednesday, the thirteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna of the cyclic year Kālayukta, the Śaka year being 880 past (l. 56 f.). Professor Kielhorn has favoured the Editor with the following remarks on this date :— “ Śaka-Samvat 880 expired by the Southern luni-solar system was Kālayukta, and the equivalent of the date is Wednesday, 9th March A. D. 959, when the 13th tithi of the dark half of the Amānta Phālguna commenced 2 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. The reason why the tithi has been joined here with the day on which it commenced, very probably is this, that the Nakṣatra on that day, (viz. on the Wednesday) was Śatabhisaj ; for, the conjunc-

tion of the 13th tithi of the dark half of the pūrnimānta Caitra or amānta Phālguna with the naksatra Śatabhisaj—a conjunction at which the Tithi is called Vārunī—is very auspicious,¹ so that donations etc., made on such an occasion, are as meritorious as those made at an eclipse etc."

The account of the different princes of the family is given word for word in the same verses as those occurring in the plates found at Deoli near Wardha which have been published by me in Vol. XVIII of the Jurnal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society²; and consequently the present grant, issued, as it was, eighteen years after the other, confirms the important statements contained in the latter, which have enabled us to clear all the existing difficulties in the genealogy and history of the family. There is, however, some additional information given in this grant. In the introduction, instead of the words Sātyaki-vargabhadrah, we have in the Karhad plates (v. 6) tunga-yasah-prabhavah. Still the reading of the Deoli plates is not a mistake, and the family was regarded as belonging to the Sātyaki branch of the Yādava race, as we have a statement to that effect in the Navasari grants, also edited by me.³ But the varied reading of the present grant enables me to make out that the Rāstrakūtas sprang from a family that was known by the name of Tunga. Hence it is that so many of the princes have their names ending in that word. Kṛṣṇa I was called Śubhatunga; Govinda III, Jagattunga; and Śarva or Amoghavarṣa, Nrpatunga. Then in the description of Dantidurga we have one verse more than in the Deoli plates, in which his having wrested the supreme sovereignty for his own family from the Cāukyas is mentioned distinctly (v. 9). There is also an additional verse about Nrpatunga or Amoghavarṣa, who therein is represented, as in the Navasari grants, to have "burnt" or destroyed the Cilukya race

¹ "A still more auspicious conjunction is that of the same tithi with a Saturday and Śatabhiṣaj; and an even more auspicious conjunction is that of the same tithi with Saturday, Śatabhiṣaj, and the Śubhayoga. In the former case the tithi is called Mahāvārunī, and in the latter Mahā-mahāvārunī."

² Included in this Volume later. [N. D. U.]

³ This is also included in this Volume later. [N. B. U.]

(v. 14). In the account of Amoghavarsa, the Baddiga of the Kharepatan grant, the father of Kṛṣṇa III, we have two additional verses (22 and 23) descriptive of his virtues.

The account in the Deoli plate ends with the coronation of Kṛṣṇa III; and all that he is therein represented to have done, he did while he was a Kumāra, or crown-prince, and janakājñāvāsa, i. e. acting under his father's orders, or subordinate to him. In the present grant there is one verse more about him in this part, in which he is represented to have conquered Sahasrārjuna, who was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife (v. 25). Sahasrārjuna is the mythical hero to whom the Kalacuri rulers of Cedi traced their descent, and who, in the story in the Mahābhārata, is represented to have killed Jamadagni, the father of Parāśurāma, and in revenge to have had his thousand arms cut off by the latter. Very likely, the rulers of Cedi generally, or some of them at least particularly, were called by the name of Sahasrārjuna after their mythical ancestor, and the name Arjuna does occur in the list of the princes belonging to that family. The Sahasrārjuna, therefore, conquered by our Kṛṣṇa, must have been a ruler of Cedi or must have belonged to that family. And it is also likely that he was a relative of his mother and his wife. For Amoghavarsa, the father of Kṛṣṇa, is in the Karda plates represented to have married Kandakadevi, the daughter of Yuvarāja, who must have been the same as the fourth prince in the list given by Professor Kielhorn;¹ and it appears that Kṛṣṇa himself married a lady from the same family. Who the particular prince conquered by Kṛṣṇa III was, it is difficult to say. The name Arjuna or Sahasrārjuna does not occur in Professor Kielhorn's list. But many other names of the Kalacuri princes related to the Rāstrakūṭas also do not occur therein. The following is a list of those princes:—

1. Kokkala, whose daughter was married to Akālavarsa and was the mother of Jagattunga
2. Ranavigraha, his son, whose daughter Laksmi was married to Jagattunga and who was his maternal uncle.

¹ Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 304.

3. Arjuna, the eldest son of Kokkala and therefore brother of the above.
4. Āṅganadeva, his son, whose daughter Vijāmbā was married to Indra-Nityavarsa.
5. Yuvarāja, whose daughter Kandakadevi was the wife, or one of the wives, of Amoghavarṣa-Baddiga according to the Karda plates.
6. Sahasrārjuna or Arjuna, the prince mentioned in the present grant as having been conquered by Kṛṣṇa III.

Of these, the names Ranavigraha, Arjuna and Āṅganadeva do not occur in Professor Kielhorn's list. Perhaps they were collaterals and not ruling princes. But that there was a ruling prince of Cedi of the name of Ranavigraha, is shown by the following verse occurring in Jahlana's Sūktimuktāvallī, attributed to Rājaśekhara :

नर्मदां मेकलसुता नृपाणी रायिप्रहः । कर्णीनि च सुरानन्दशेत्विमण्डलमण्डनम् ॥

"Of rivers the Mekalasutā (i.e. Narmadā), of kings Ranavigraha, and of poets Surānanda, are the ornaments of the country of Cedi." Jagattunga's maternal uncle and father-in-law is called Śāṅkaragana in the Karda plates; but that is probably a mistake. The name Śāṅkaragana does occur in Professor Kielhorn's list down below; but he was not the son of Kokkala and consequently could not be the father-in-law of Jagattunga. Where to place these three princes, therefore, in the Cedi list, must be left to future researches.

After the account of Kṛṣṇa's coronation, there are in the Karhad plates two verses more about the reigning monarch, in which we are told that he deposed some of his chiefs from their places and raised others to the dignity, separated some from each other and united others (v. 34); that, with the intention of conquering the South, he exterminated the Cola race and placed its country under his own dependents, and that, having made the Ceraṇma, the Pāṇḍya and the Simhala his tributaries, he erected a triumphal column at Rāmeśvara (v. 35). The statement about the conquest of the Colas and the annexation of their territory is confirmed by two Inscriptions found at Tirukkalukkunram in the

Chingleput District of the Madras Presidency and edited and translated by Mr. Venkayya.¹ These Inscriptions are dated in the seventeenth and nineteenth years of Kannaradeva, and he is there spoken of as the conqueror of Kacchi (or Kāñcīpura) and Tañjai (identified with Tañjapūra or Tañjāvūr, i.e. Tanjore). This last was the capital of the Cola princes. Another Inscription at Ve'llore is dated in the twenty-sixth year of his reign,² and there are two more in South Arcot. Kannaradeva is evidently Kṛṣṇadeva; since Kannara we do find as an ordinary way of pronouncing Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava dynasty is in several Inscriptions called Kanbara or Kanhāra. The very fact that so many Inscriptions in the country governed by the Colas and Pallavas are dated in Kṛṣṇa's reign, shows that the country formed part of the territory ruled over by him. As stated by me in the paper on the Deoli plates, Bütuga or Bütayya, the same as the Bhūtārya of our grants, whom Kṛṣṇa had raised to the throne of the Ganga kingdom, is represented in an Inscription at Atakur³ to have assisted Kannaradeva in destroying Rājāditya, the Cola prince. But the conquest of the Cola country was effected after Śaka-Saṁvat 862, the date of the Deoli grant, since it is not mentioned in it, and before Śaka-Saṁvat 880, the date of the Karhad grant. As the destruction of Rājāditya is alluded to in the Atakur Inscription as a recent event, it must have taken place a little before Śaka 872 current, the date of that Inscription. And the present grant affords direct evidence for Kṛṣṇarāja's occupation of the Cola country. For it was issued while he was encamped with his victorious army at Melpāṭī for establishing his followers in the Southern provinces, for taking possession of the estates of the provincial chiefs, and for constructing temples to Kālapriya, Gaṇḍamārtanda, Kṛṣṇeśvara and others (ll. 57 to 59). The Melpāṭī where he was encamped for settling the Southern provinces, must be Melpadi in the Chittur Taluka of the District of North Arcot.⁴ Whether there are now any temples at Melpadi or in the vicinity corresponding to those, to construct which was

¹ Ep. Ind. Vol. III, pp. 282-85.

² Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 81.

³ Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 173.

⁴ Ep. Ind. Volume IV, p. 140; also Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 155.

another of the objects of the Rāstrakūta prince, must be left to be determined by those who are intimately acquainted with the country. The conquest of the Pallava country, however, was effected before, since we have a mention of it in the Deoli plates.

The boundaries of the village granted are specified in line 63f. There is a village of the name of Kanki some miles to the south-east of Karhad, which is now included in the Junior Miraj State. That village is, I am told, bounded on the South by another of the name of Landur, and on the West by a third called Adhi. The Kanki of the grant is therefore the modern Kanki, Pendurein, Pandur; and Adhem, Adhi. The river in the vicinity is, I am told, now called Agraṇī; but the Kṛṣṇavēṇā, which corresponds to the Prakrit form Kanhavannā of the grant, is not far. Perhaps Vannā, the latter part of the compound, was the old name of the Yerla, which flows through the district, and the river meant is the Kṛṣṇā after its confluence with the Yerla. There is also a village of the name of Kalli in the vicinity; and the twelve villages of which it was or is the chief, have now the following names :—

1. Kalli.	5. Adhi.	9. Khatav.
2. Kanki.	6. Salgar.	10. Nignur.
3. Ajura.	7. Bekonki.	11. Pandregamv (Pandur?).
4. Sijur.	8. Titur.	12. Tavsi.

TRANSCRIPT¹

FIRST PLATE.

१ ओः [॥१] स जयति जगदुत्सवप्रवेशप्रथनपरः करपल्लवो मुरारेः । लसद-
मृतपयःकणांकलक्ष्मीस्तनक-

२ लशाननलधसंनिवेशः^२ [१४] जयति [च] गिरिजाकपोलविम्बादधिगतपत्र-^३
विचि [त्रित]भभितिः^४ । 'तृपुरविज-

३ यिनः प्रियोपरोधादृतमद [न]भयदानशासनेव [२५] श्रीमानस्ति नभस्तलै-
कतिलक्ष्मैलोक्यनेत्रोत्सवो देवो

४ भन्मथवान्धवः^५ कुमुदिनीनाथः मुधारीधितिः । [नि]शेषमरतर्ष्णार्थिततत्तु-
प्रक्षीणतालंकृते-

1 From the original plates. 2 Expressed by a symbol. 3 Read लस्त.

4 Read विच्छा०. 5 Read °नांस. 6 Read त्रिपुर.

7 Read वानधषः

५ गर्वयांशः शिर[सा] 'गुणविकलया नूनं धृतः कम्भुना ॥ [३*] तस्मद्दिका-
सनपरः कु [मुदाव] लीनान्देषः-
६ न्धक्करदलनः 'षरिपूरिताशः । ज्योत्स्नाप्रव ह इव दर्शितयुद्धपक्षःः प्रपत्ते
क्षितितले क्षितिपा-
७ लवंशः ॥ [४*] अभवदतुलका [नित] स्तन्त्र [मु] क्तमणीनां गण इव यदुवंश
दुरध्सेन्ध्यमाने । अधिग-
८ तहारेनीलप्रोङ्गस [ज] । यक्षरशिथिलगुण [शं] गो भूषणं यो भुवोभूत् ॥ [५*]
उद्दृतदै [ल्य] कु-
९ लैकन्दलशान्तिहेतुस्तत्रावता रमकरोत्पुरुषः पुरुणः । तद्वंशजा जगति [तुं] गय-
शः [प्र]-
१० भावास्तु [ग] । इति [क्षि] तिभुजः श्रुथिर्ता वभूजुः ॥ [६*] क्षितितलतिल-
कस्तदन्वये च क्षतरिपुदन्तिघटोजनिष्ठैर-
११ द्वः । [त] मनु च सुतराष्ट्रकृद्यनाम्रा भुवि विश्वोजनि राष्ट्रकृदवंशः
[७*] तस्मादरातिवनिताद्वचारुहार-
१२ नहारभानुरुदगादिह दन्तिदुर्गाः । एकं चकार 'चतुरब्द्वयकण्ठसीम क्षेत्रं
य एतदसिलांगलभि [ज] दुर्गाः [॥ ८*]
१३ मुक्तिरथां धनपत्रसंचयकृत [च्छ] यां मनेहारीरणामूढोदारफलां समाधितजन-
श्रान्तिव्यपोहक्षमा॑
१४ यथालुक्यकुलालपालवल [य] दुदृल्य॑ लक्ष्मीलतां सिंकां दन्तिमदाम्बुभिः॒ स्थिर-
पदासार्कि स्ववंशेकरोत् । [९*]
१५ तस्म[१*] दपालयदिमां वसुधां पितृ[३्य *]ः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः शरदभ्रशुञ्चैः ।
यस्कारितेश्वरंग-
१६ हैर्वसुमत्य [नेक] कैलासशैल [निः] चितेव चिरं विभा [ति] ॥ [१०*] गोविन्दराज
इति तस्य वभूव॑ [न] म्ना स्-

SECOND PLATE ; FIRST SIDE.

१७ नुस्स [भो] गभ [र] भंगुरराऊयचिन्तः । आत्मानुजे निहयमे विनिवेदय [स] म्य-
[क्स] [म्र] उयमीश्वरपदं शिथिली-

1 Read गुणप्रिय॑.

2 Read परि॑

3 Read शुद्ध.

4 Read प्राचर्तन.

5 कृत is corrected by the engraver from कृता.

6 Read प्रथिना वभूवुः.

7 दन्ति is corrected by the engraver from द्रान्ति.

8 Read चतुरब्द्वय॑.

9 Read क्षमामृ.

10 Read लैकाल.

11 Read दिग्म्बुभिः.

12 Read वभूव.

१८ चकार ॥ [११*] ॐ[त]तपतु[त्रि]तये[न्दु]वे [म्व]लीले[द]योदेः^१ कलिवल्ल-
भास्यात् । ततः लतारातिमदेभमंगो

१९ जातो जग[त्तु] गम्भाधिराजः ॥ [१२*] तत्सन्तुरानतनृष्णो [त्तु]पतुंगदेवः सो
भूत्सर्वन्यभरभंगुरिताहिरा-

२० जः । यो मान्येखटमर[न्द्रपु] रोपहासि गीव्वाणमव्वर्मिव खच्चवित्तुं व्यधत्त
॥ [१३*] चालुक्यवंशं दहतां य-

२१ दीय[प्र]तापवहेभिलव्वजन्मा^२ । ब्रह्मण्डभाण्डोदर— — — — नादापि विश्रा-
न्तिमुर्पति [शब्दः]^३ ॥ [१४*] ॥

२२ त[स्यो] त्तजिर्जत[गू]र्जरो हतहटलट्टद्वार्मदो गाँडानां विनयवतार्षणगुरुः
सामुद्र(१)निद्राहरः ।

२३ द्वारस्थांगकलिंगांगमगधैरभ्यर्चिताङ्गश्चिरं रूनुस्सनृतवामभुवः परिवृढः श्रीकृष्ण-
राजो भ [वत्] ॥ [१५*]

२४ अभू [उज]ग्वतुंग^४ इति प्रसिद्धस्तदंगजः स्त्रीनयनामृतांशुः । अलव्वधराज्यः स
किं विनन्ये दिव्या-^५

२५ गनाप्रार्थनयेव^६ धत्रा ॥ [१६*] तच्चन्दनः श्वितमपालयदि[न्द्र]राजो य
द्रूपसंभवपराभवमीरणे-

२६ व । मानात्पुरेव मदनेन पिनाकपाणिकोपास्त्रिना निजतनुः क्रयते^७ स्म
भस्म ॥ [१७*] तस्माद[मोघ]वर्गी

२७ रौ[द्र]धनुर्भ[ग]जनितवलमहिमा^८ । राम इव रामणीयकमहानिधिर्दशस्था-
[ज्ज]तः ॥ [१८*]

२८ क्षिप्रं दिवं पितुरिव प्रणया[द्र]तस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोकललमभूतः ।
राज्यं दधे मद[न]-

२९ सौख्यपिलास[कन्दो]^९ गोविन्द[रा]ज इति विश्वतनामधेयः ॥ [१९*]
[सो]प्यंगनानयनपाशनिरुद्धु-^{१०}

३० द्विरु[न्म]पर्गसंगविमुखोऽन्तसर्वसत्व[ः] । [दोष] (१)प्रकोपद्विषमप्रकृतिः^{११} श्लशंगः
प्रापत्क्षयं

1 Read °पत्र; त्रिनये° is corrected by the engraver from त्रिततये.

2 Read चित्त.

3 Read ग्वर्वयितुं.

4 Read द्रहतां.

5 Read °लच्च.

6 Read ब्रह्मण्ड.

7 Read शब्दः.

8 Read °ज्जगनुङ्गः.

9 Read अलच्च.

10 Read दिव्याङ्गना.

11 The न of °नयेव is entered below the line.

12 Read क्रिपतं.

13 Read चल.

14 Read विलास.

15 Read त्रु.

16 Read निषम.

३१ सहजतेजसि जातजाज्ये ॥ [००*] साम [नै]रथ रुद्र[ञ्च]महिमलम्वार्थम-
भ्यर्थितोऽ देवेनापि पि-

३२ नाकिना हरिकुलोल्ला[सै] षितोऽ प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो विवेकिषु जग-
त्तुगत्मजोमो-

३३ घवाकप्यौषाविधरमोघवर्षनृपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ॥ [२१*] धर्मे मनुस्समर
कर्मणि कार्त[धी]-

SECOND PLATE ; SECOND SIDE.

३४ यो वर्यं वैलिर्जनम[नो]हरणे दिल्पः [१०] उच्चो[श्विरन्त]नयशांसि हर
चर्पतिथं वृद्धेषु नम्-

३५ च[रि]तो विनयेन [यो]भूत । [२२*] किमेव मुकु[त]राशेष्वर्व[र्ण]ते^८ त
चित्रं युधि रिपुभिर[श]पैव्यक्षितो

३६ भज्यमानैः । वियति निकटवर्ती यस्य जातः सहायः प्रणतहरिविरिश्वा
भ्यर्चिचेत[श्व]न्द्रमेलिः^९ ॥ [२३*]

३७ श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिस्तस्मात्परमेश्वरादजनि [सू]नुः । य शक्तिधरः स्वामी
कुमा[र]भवेष्यभू [हु]^{१०}

३८ वने ॥ [२४*] [र]महत[स]हस्रभुजो भुजद्वयाक[लि]तसमदरामेण (रामेण)
। [जननीपत्नी]गुहरपि

३९ येन सद्व[स्त]र्जुनो [विजि]तः ॥ [२५*] श्रीरुद्रराज्यपुरवरक्षापरिखां मदेन
यस्या ज्ञां । विपुलां विलंघ-

४० यन्तः स्वयमप्त[न] द्रोहिणोधस्तात् ॥ [२६*] येन मधुकेटभाविव पुन
स्तम्भनौ जनोपमर्दयो ।

४१ श्रीविलभेन [नि]हनौ भुवि द[नित]गवणुगौ दु[श्चिं] ॥ [२७*] र[छ्य]म
लवि[षदु]ममुद[स्य] निहितेन येकृ-

४२ त सनाथां । भूतार्थपु[ञ्च]तरणा वार्दीमिव गंगपाटीन्न ॥ [२८*] परि
मलिताणिगपल्लवविपाति-

४३ रासीच विस्मयस्थानं । विस्फुरति [य] त्यतये शोषितविद्विषिगांगैवे
[२९*] यस्य पर्षेक्षिताखिल-

४४ दक्षिणदिग्दुर्गविजयमाकर्षे । गलिता गृज्जरहृदयत्का[लं] जरचित्रकृदाशा
[३०*] अनमना पूर्वापि-

1 Read °लम्बार्थी°.

2 Read °सौमिगा.

3 Read °पाञ्चिव°.

4 Read शालि०.

5 Read गांजी०.

6 Read मालि॒

7 Read °भावेष्यम्०.

४५ रजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलव्दीपात् । [यं] जनकाजा [वश]मपि मण्डलिनश्चण्ड-
दण्डभयात् ॥ [३१*] स्त्रिगध[स्य].-

४६ मस्ता प्रलम्बुभुजया पीनायतोरस्कया मूर्त्या कीर्तिलताहितामृतजलैर्वृत्तैश्च
सत्वोऽङ्गवैः ।

४७ ज्ञात्वा यं पुरुषोत्तमं भरसहं विश्वम्भराभ्युद्गृतौ शा[न्ते ध]।[न्ति] लयं
गतः प्रशमिनामाद्यः कृ-

४८ तार्थः पिता । [३२*] [वृ]ते वृत्तसुरांगने सरभसं दिव्यर्षिदत्ताशिवि
श्रीकान्तस्य नितान्त[तो] षितह-

४९ [रे] रा[ज्य] अभिषेकोत्सवे । यस्मा[वद्वकरप्रहोद्य]ममवत्कम्पानुरागोदयाद्विकन्याः
स्त्रसमर्पणा-

THIRD PLATE.

५० थमभवल[ग्न]नुकूल्यप्रियाः ॥ [३३*] लुप्ताः केवि निजास्पदाद्वृणमृतः केचि-
त्प्रतिष्ठापिताः केष्ट[न्यो]न्यविभेदतो

५१ [वि]रलिताः केचित्तु संश्लेषिताः । येनात्यूर्जतशद्वतन्त्रपतिन॑ वर्णणी
इवोच्चावचां नीता [म]ण्डलिनो दशां मुमहतास्सि-

५२ द्विं पद[स्य] च्छता ॥ [३४*] कृत्वा दर्शणदिग्जयोदयतविया चौलान्त्ययो-
न्मूलनं तद्विभि “निजभृत्यभर्गपरित्येरन्मतः-

५३ षड्गादिकान् । येनो [चै] स्सह भिद्वलेन करदान्समण्डलाधीश्वरा [न्य] सतः
कीर्तिलतांकुरप्रतिकृतिस्तम्भथ [रेमेश्वरे] ६ [३५*] [स च]

५४ परमभद्रारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरर्थमदमोघवर्षदेवपादा [नु] ध्यातपरमभद्रारक-
महाराजाधि-

५५ राजपर [मे] श्व [र] श्रीमद्कालवर्षदेवः पृथ्वीवलस्त्रीमद्वलमनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली
सर्वानेव यथासम्बद्ध्य-

५६ मानकाव्राष्टपतिविषय [प] विग्रहकूटमहनरयुक्तकोयुक्तकान्समदिशत्यस्तु व संवि-
दितं यथा शक [नु] पक -

५७ ल[१*] तीत [म]वन्सरशनेष्वष्टस्य [र्श] त्याधिकेषु कालयुक्तसंवत्सरान्तर्गतफ[१]
ल्युनवहुलत्र [शो] दस्यां वुध दक्षिणदि-

५८ [ड्म] ण्डलाने भृत्य [म्यो] जंवने कर्तुं मण्डेश्वरमव्वस्वानि प्रतिग्रहीतुं^{१०} काल-
प्रियगण्डमार्तण्डकृष्णश्वरा-

1 Read प्रलम्ब.

2 Read शिष्मि.

3 Read यस्याषद्द.

4 Read शब्द.

5 Read वर्ग.

6 Read रेमेश्वरे.

7 Read भेषध्य.

8 Read वहुलवयाद्वश्यां बुधं.

9 The anusvāra of कर्तुं runs into the षु which stands over it; read मण्डलेश्वर.

10 °ग्रहीतुं is corrected by the engraver from °गृहीतुं.

५९ द्वायतनानि विष्णादयितं मेल्पाटीसमावासितश्रीमद्विजयकटकेन मया कर-
हार्टीयवल्कल-

६० [श्व] रस्थानपतिकरंजखेटसंततिविनिर्गतेशानशिवाचार्यशिष्याय^१ महातपस्थिते सक-
शाल-

६१ [व] सिद्धान्तपारगाय गगनशिवाय (।) कार्त्तिक्यां [सं] कलिपत [स] कलतपो-
धना (या) सनाच्छदनानिमित्तं कर-

६२ हाटविषयप्रतिवद्वक्तिहृदशकान्तर्गतः कंकेनामा ग्रामः सवृक्षमालाकुलः
सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः

६३ सदण्डदोषदशापराधः सर्वोल्पनिसहित आचन्द्रर्कन्नमस्यो मया दत्तः ।
यस्य पूर्वतः कन्हवचा

६४ [नदी] [।*] दक्षिणतः [पेंडु] रें । पश्चिमतः आदेनामा ग्रामः । उत्तरतः
सैव कन्हवचा नदी [।*] एवं चतुराघाटवि-

६५ शुद्धं कंकेसंज्ञकं प्रभं गगनशिवस्य कृष्णतः कर्पयतो भुंजते भेजयते
वा न केनचिद्वयाघ.तः का-

६६ र्थः । यश्च करोति पलभिरपि महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तक्ष ॥
षष्ठिवर्षस [ह] स्त [।*] णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति

६७ भूमि [दः] । आन्छेत्ता चा [तु] [म] न्त [।] च तान्ये [व] नर [के] वसेत् ॥
[३६*] सा [म] अन्योर्यं धर्म [सेतु] नृपाणां काले काले [प] इल [नी]-

६८ यो [भ] वद्धिः । नव्वोने [वं] भाविभः^२ पार्थिवे [न्द्र] अभ्यौ^३ भूयो याचते राम-
भद्रः ॥ [३६*] यो [स्यगमेन] लिखितमिति [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Om. (Verse 1.) Triumphant is the leaf-like hand of (Visnu) the enemy of Mura, which being placed on the jar-like breast and the face of Lakshmi, that are marked by shining particles of nectar-water, the proclaimed entrance of the world on a joyous festival.

(V. 2.) And triumphant is the rampart-like shoulder of (Siva) the conqueror of the three cities (or of Tripura), which is adorned by the coloured figures impressed on it by (the close contact of) the cheeks of (Parvati) the daughter of the Mountain, and which thus bears, as it were, through regard for his beloved, an edict promising safety to the god of love.

1 Read शिष्याय.

2 Read °चद्ध.

3 Read कंक.

4 Read भाविभः.

5 Read °भूयो.

(V. 3.) There is (the Moon), the glorious god, the only ornament of the surface of the sky, the delight of the eyes of the three worlds, the friend of love, the lord of the night-lotuses, whose rays are full of nectar, whose thinness, produced by his having given up his body for gratification of all the gods, is his ornament, and a portion of whom is worn on the head by Śambhu (Śiva)— verily on account of his love for excellent qualities.

(V. 4.) From him sprang forth on earth a race of princes,—like a stream of moonlight,— which extended the series of the joys of the world, as the other unfolds the series of night-lotuses ; which destroyed the darkness of sin, as the other destroys the darkness of night ; which fulfilled all desires, as the other fills all quarters ; and which had unblemished adherents as the other constitutes the bright half of a month.¹

(V. 5.) In that (race), which resembled the ocean of milk, arose the family of Yadu,—like a necklace of pearls, which, like it, had a matchless splendour; the leadership of which was gracefully borne by the dark-complexioned Hari when he flourished, as the beauty of the central gem in the other is borne by a sapphire when it is put in ; which possessed indelible virtues, as the other is firmly strung on a thread ;² and which was the ornament of the earth.

(V. 6.) In that (family) the eternal being (Kṛṣṇa) became incarnate in order to destroy the crowds of Daityas who had grown turbulent ; and princes of that family, whose fame and valour were pre-eminent, became known in the world as Tungas.

(V. 7.) In that race was born Ratta, the ornament of the surface of the earth, who destroyed the arrays of the elephants of his enemies ; and after him the Rāstrakūṭa family became known in the world by the name of (his) son Rāstrakūṭa.

(Vv. 8 and 9.) From that (family) arose in this (world) Dantidurga, who was a sun to the fog in the shape of the charming necklaces on the breasts of the wives of his enemies, and who,

1 The epithets here are used in two meanings, one of which is applicable to the race of the Moon, and the other to the moonlight.

2 The epithets Adhigata-harinīlaprollasan-nāyaka-śrīḥ and Aśithila-guṇa-saṅgah have two meanings, one applicable to the family of Yadu, and the other to the necklace of pearls.

having broken the uneven ground (or the strongholds) by a ploughshare in the shape of his sword, made this (earth) a single field with the shores of the four oceans for its boundaries ; who plucked out, from the surrounding water-basin in the shape of the Cālukya family, the creeper in the shape of supreme sovereignty, which has a glossy appearance, is shady on account of its thick foliage and charming, bears abundant fruit, and is able to remove the fatigue of men resorting to it, and planted it firmly in his own family by feeding it with the rut-water of his elephants.

(V. 10.) After him, (his) paternal uncle, the prosperous king Kṛṣṇarāja, protected this earth,— he who constructed temples of Īśvara (Śiva), white as clouds in autumn, by which the earth shines for ever as if decorated by many Kailāsa mountains.

(V. 11.) He had a son of the name of Govindarāja. Sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom ; and, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose.

(V. 12.) From him who was (also) called Kalivallabha, and who was an artificial hill on which rose the moon in the shape of the triad¹ of white parasols, was born Jagattunga, the lion who destroyed the maddened elephants of his enemies.

(Vv. 13 and 14.) His son, to whom kings bowed, and who oppressed the king of serpents by the mass of his army, was that Nrpatungadeva who founded Mānyakhetā, which derided the city of the Indra of the gods, in order to humble, as it were, the pride of the gods ; and the sound arising from the fire of whose prowess, when it burnt the Cālukya race, [filling] the interior of the vessel in the shape of the universe, has not yet ceased.

(V. 15.) His son, the prosperous Kṛṣṇarāja, became for a long time the lord of the earth,— he who spoke pleasant words, who terrified the Gūrjara, who destroyed the egregious pride, generated by prosperity, of the arrogant Lāṭa, who was the preceptor charging the Gaudas with the vow of humility, who deprived the people on the sea-coast (Sāmuḍra) of their sleep,

1 Compare Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 17, note 5. [This Note is by the Editor of the Epi. Ind. — N. B. U.]

and whose command was honoured (i. e. obeyed) by the Anga, the Kalinga, the Gāṅga and the Magadha, waiting at his gate.

(V. 16.) He had a son known as Jagattunga, a moon to the eyes of women. He was taken to heaven by the Creator without obtaining the kingdom, as if at the request of the heavenly nymphs.

(V. 17.) Indrarāja, his son, protected the earth. It was from fear, as it were, of the indignity likely to be caused (in future) by his beauty, that the god of love, even before, had his body reduced to ashes through pride by means of the fire of the wrath of (Śiva), the wielder of the Pināka.

(V. 18.) From him was born Amoghavarsa,—as Rāma was from Daśaratha,—the greatness of whose power was shown by the breaking of a terrible bow,¹ as that of the other by the breaking of the bow of Rudra,² and who (like the other) was a great store-house of beauty.

(V. 19.) He having immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father, his younger brother, the ornament of the world of men, and the source of the sportive pleasures of love, known by the name of Govindarāja, ruled the kingdom.

(V. 20.) He, too, with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses; his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the (political) body becoming non-coherent as the subjects were discontented on account of the aggravation of the vices,³ and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralized, he met with destruction.

(V. 21.) Then king Amoghavarsa, the son of Jagattunga, the first among the wise, the sea of the nectar of whose words

¹ This may refer to a war with the Cera king, whose crest was a bow; compare South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 92, note 5, and Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 332. [Note by the Editor of the Epi. Ind. —N. B. U.]

² Raudra-dhanur-bhaṅga has two meanings.

³ The epithet Dosaprakopa etc. has two meanings, one physical and the other political. So also Tejas in Sabaja-tejas has to be taken in two meanings.

was unfailing, being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rāṭṭas, and also prompted by the god (Śiva), the wielder of the Pināka, who desired the prosperity of the family of Hari (Kṛṣṇa), ascended the glorious throne of heroes.

(V. 22.) In righteousness he was a Manu, in battle a Kārtavīrya, in valour a Bali, in attracting the hearts of men a Dilipa; though he thus acquired pre-eminent and permanent fame, his behaviour towards elderly persons was humble through modesty.

(V. 23.) How possibly can the store of his merits be extolled when— O wonder ! the moon-crested (Śiva), bowed down to and worshipped by Hari (Viṣṇu) and Viśiṣṭa (Brahmā), was, in battle, seen by all his flying enemies to be near him in the sky, and to assist him ?

(V. 24.) From that sovereign lord, as from Parameśvara (Śiva), was born a son, the prosperous king Kṛṣṇarāja, who, though a prince (i. e., not a crowned king), exercised power in the world and was the lord, as the other was Kumāra, Saktidhara and Svāmin.¹

(V. 25.) He conquered Sahasrārjuna, though he was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife,— (Sahasrārjuna) whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (i. e. Paraśurāma) who, maddened as he was, was in his turn (only verbally) put down by him (viz. Kṛṣṇarāja) by means of his two hands, he having held intoxicated young women (rāmā) with his two hands.²

(V. 26.) His enemies, madly transgressing his command which was the wide moat that protected the great city in the shape of the sovereignty of the prosperous Rāṭṭas, fell down themselves.

(V. 27.) He, Śrivallabha, killed the wicked Dantiga and Vappuga, who seemed to be (the two demons) Madhu and Kaitabha, risen again on earth to torment men.

¹ These are three of the names of the god Kārttikeya. The words are to be interpreted also in their ordinary sense as above.

² Bhujadvayākalita etc.. is to be interpreted in two ways.

(V. 28.) He planted in Gangapāti, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhūtārya, having rooted the poisonous tree Rachyāmalla.

(V. 29.) While his prowess, which destroyed numbers of Gāngas, his enemies, as the heat dries up the stream of the Gangā, was glowing, it is no matter for wonder that the Pallava (king) Anniga was beaten and reduced to a sad condition, as it is no wonder that fragrant leaves are withered (by heat).¹

(V. 30.) On hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the Southern region simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūta vanished from the heart of the Gūrjara.

(V. 31.) (All) the feudatories from the Eastern to the Western ocean and from the Himalaya to the island of Simhala bowed to him out of fear of severe punishment, though he himself was obedient (i. e. subordinate) to his father.

(V. 32.) By his body which had a dark, glossy colour, long arms, and a broad and massive chest, and by his virtuous deeds which were the nectar-water that fed the creeper in the shape of his fame, knowing him to be an excellent man (or Viṣṇu), able to deliver the earth (or to uplift the submerged earth),— his father, the best of sages, who had attained the object of life, vanished into the peaceful abode.

(V. 33.) When the festival of the coronation of this beloved of Prosperity, who had greatly propitiated Hari (Viṣṇu), at which celestial nymphs danced and heavenly Rṣis pronounced benedictions, had taken place amidst joy, the quarters which began to tremble and to be submissive on account of his preparation to exact tribute, as girls would have manifested tremor and affection at his preparation to take their hand, became pleasing to him in consequence of their observing the proper time for paying it off of their own accord, as the others would have been dear to him in consequence of their keeping to the auspicious juncture for giving away themselves.²

1 There is a play here on the words Pratāpa, Parimalita, Gāṅga and Pallava.

2 The second half of this verse has a double meaning.

(V. 34.) He, a powerful master of the science of polities, desirous of obtaining a lofty position, deprived some of his subordinate chiefs of their places and established others who were deserving, separated some from each other by producing disunion and united others, and thus arranged them in a high or low position ; as a proficient master of the science of words, (i. e. grammar), desirous of making up a long form, drops some letters from their position and introduces others in their Guṇa form, separates some on account of their dissimilarity and unites others, and places them in order, above or below.

(V. 35.) Having, with the intention of subduing the Southern region, uprooted the race of the Colas, given their land to his own dependents, and made the lords of great countries, viz., the Ceranma,¹ the Pāṇḍya and others, along with the Siṁhala, his tributaries, he erected a high column at Rāmeśvara, which was the image (as it were) of the sprout of the creeper in the shape of his glory.

(Line 53.) And he, the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, the prosperous Akālavarsadeva Pr̥thvivallabha, the prosperous Vallabhanarendradeva, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, the prosperous Amoghavarṣadeva,— being well, commands all the governors of districts and heads of sub-divisions, chiefs of villages, leading persons, officers and employees, so far as they may be concerned with these presents :—

(L. 56.) “ Be it known to you that, while my glorious and victorious army is encamped at Melpāṭī for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the Southern region for my dependents, of taking possession of the whole property of the lords of provinces, and of erecting temples of Kālapriya, Gāndamārtanda, Kṛṣṇeśvara, etc., eight hundred and eighty years of the era of the Śaka king having elapsed, on Wednesday, the thirteenth Tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna of the (cyclic) year Kālayukta,— I have granted the village named Kankēśī, one of

1 This seems to be a Sanskritised form of the Tamil Śeramāṇ, ‘ the Chera king.’ [This note is by the Editor of the Epi. Ind.—N. B. U.]

the Kalli group of twelve (villages), situated in the district (Visaya) of Karahāṭa, along with the rows of trees in it, the assessment in grain and gold, the flaws in measurement, the inflictions of fate, and all the produce, to Gaganaśiva, a great ascetic, versed in all Śiva-sidhāntas, the pupil of the preceptor Īśānaśiva, who is the head of the establishment of Valkaleśvara in Karahāṭa and is an emigrant from the Karañjakhēṭa group (of villages),¹ for the purpose of providing seats and clothes to all ascetics, as promised on the Kārttikī (i. e. the full-moon Tithi of Kārttika),— (the grant) to be respected (i. e. not to be interfered with) as long as the moon and the sun endure.”

(L. 63.) To the east of this (village) is the river Kanhvannā ; to the south, (the village of) [Pendu]rem ; to the west, the village named Ādhem ; to the north, that same river Kanhvannā. No one should cause obstruction to Gaganaśiva while he cultivates the village named Kankein, defined by these four boundaries, or causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed. And he who causes (obstruction), will incur all the five great sins ; for it is said :—

(V. 36.) “ He who grants land, dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years ; (but) he who takes it away and he who abets the act, dwell as long in hell.”

(V. 37.) “ Rāmabhadra again and again entreats all future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, which is common to all kings.”

(L. 68.) Engraved by Yo[syagma].

¹ Or perhaps— [‘ a descendant of the (spiritual) lineage of (the Maṭha at) Karañjakēṭa.’ This note is by the Editor of the Epi. Ind.—N. B. U.]

A TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF THE
DEOLI PLATES OF THE
RĀSTRAKŪTA KING KRSNA III.

(A Paper on this and two other Inscriptions— one of these latter on Navasari copper-plates, marked A and B, and the other on a Kalacuri copper-plate grant from the Belgaum District, i. e.. in all, on three Inscriptions, was read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 30th July 1892. The three papers are here separately given.)—N. B. U.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVIII, 1890–94, pp. 239ff.]

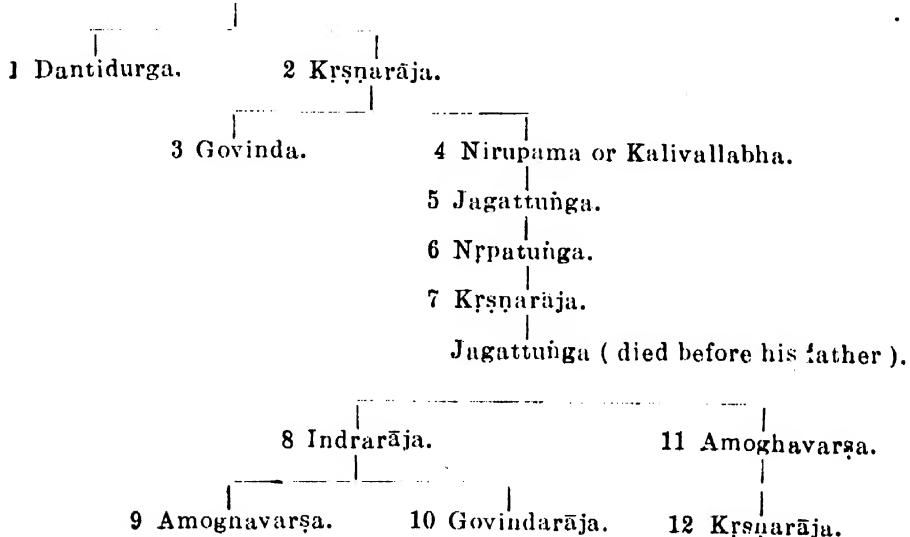
The copper-plates, a transcript and translation of the Inscription on which, I have placed before the Society to-day, were found in a well in Deoli, about 10 miles South-west of Wardha near Nagpur. Excellent impressions of the tablets were prepared by Dr. MacDonald, Superintendent of the Central Jail, Nagpur, and forwarded to the Society for being deciphered, by Mr. T. Drysdale, Deputy Commissioner of Wardha. The Secretary sent the impressions to me. I read them and communicated the contents to the Secretary, requesting him at the same time to ask the Deputy Commissioner to send over the original plates to us, as the impression was indistinct in a few places. These were kindly forwarded to us by that officer.

The plates are three in number, each being a foot in length and eight inches in breadth. The Inscription is engraved on one side of the first plate, on both sides of the second, and on one side of the third. The letters are carefully and well formed in the first part, but in the latter, the work is negligently done. The seal bears a figure of Śiva.

The Inscription is a charter announcing the grant of a village named Tālapurumsaka, situated in the district of Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, to a Brahman named Rsiyappa or Rsiyapayya of the Vedic school of Vāji, Kanva, and Kata, and of the Bhāradvāja Gotra. The grant was made by Kṛṣṇa or Akālavarsa of the

Rāstrakūta family in the name of his brother Jagattunga, while living at his capital Mānyakhēta, in the year 862 expired, of the Śaka era, corresponding to 940 A. D., on the 5th of the dark half of Vaisākha, the cyclic year being Śārvati.

The genealogy of Kṛṣṇarāja is thus given :—



This grant clears up several doubts and difficulties as regards the genealogy of the Rāstrakūtās. In the first place, the Rāstrakūta family is said to have sprung from the Sātyaki branch of the Yādava race. The genealogy begins with Dantidurga, as it was he, who acquired for his family the supreme sovereignty of Mahārāstra or Deccan, the limits of which were the Narmadā on the North and the Tungabhadrā in the South. He was succeeded by his paternal uncle Kṛṣṇarāja who is represented to have decorated the earth with many temples of Śiva which looked like the Kailāsa mountain. I have shown in my Early History of the Deccan that a temple of exceedingly great beauty was caused to be constructed at Ellora by this Kṛṣṇarāja ; and my view, that it was probably that known by the name of Kailāsa which he constructed, seems to be confirmed by the comparison with the Kailāsa contained in this grant.

The circumstances under which Dhruva-Nirupama superseded his brother Govinda are distinctly given. Sensual pleasures made Govinda careless of the kingdom, and entrusting the affairs of the state to his brother, he allowed the sovereign power to drop

away from his hands. Nothing particular is stated about Govinda III or Jagattunga.

His son, known as Amoghavarṣa, the great patron of the Digambara Jainas, is called Nrpatunga, which name is found in a Jaina work also. The city of Mānyakheṭa, which, in one grant, is mentioned as simply flourishing in his time, is represented here to have been founded by him.

His son, Kṛṣṇarāja, who is also known by the name of Akālavarṣa, is spoken of as a powerful prince, and several particulars are given about him. He frightened the Gūrjara, destroyed the egregious pride of the Lāṭa, taught humility to the Gaudas, and his command was obeyed by the Āndhra, the Kalinga, the Gāṅga, and the Magadha. As this Kṛṣṇarāja was not the reigning prince, whom the writer of the charter might be suspected of flattering, and as the grant is not reticent about the faults also of some of the princes, this account may be relied on as true. Akālavarṣa is represented as a powerful prince in the Praśasti at the end of the Uttara Purāṇa of the Jainas also. The Lāṭa prince alluded to seems to have belonged to the Gujarat branch of the Rāstrakūṭa family, which was founded in the time of Govinda III or Jagattunga, who assigned the province of Lāṭa, that he had conquered, to his brother Indra. Akālavarṣa, the grandson of Jagattunga, seems thus to have humbled or uprooted his kinsmen of the Lāṭa country.

Jagattunga was the name of Akālavarsa's son, and from the mere fact of the mention of his name in the grants, he was supposed to have been a reigning prince; and following others, I have stated in the English edition of my Early History of the Deccan that he became king after his father. But from a number of circumstances, it soon appeared to me that he could not have been an actual king, and in the Marathi edition of my work, I have corrected the statement. This inference of mine has now been confirmed by the grant before us, in which he is represented to have been "taken away by the Creator to Heaven without having succeeded to the throne, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels" who had heard of his beauty. Akālavarsa was thus succeeded by his grandson Indra, the son of Jagattunga.

There has hitherto been some confusion as regards the next prince named Amoghavarsa, who was the son of Indra. He is not mentioned by name or as a king, in the Sangli grant of his brother and successor, but is noticed in the Kharepatan grant; while in the third and only other grant, which gives us information about the two princes, there is a mistake which has led all writers on the subject to drop Govinda altogether, and regard Amoghavarsa as the only prince. But the grant before us clears the difficulty. Amoghavarsa is there spoken of as "having immediately gone to Heaven as if through affection for his father." He reigned therefore for a very short time, perhaps for a few months or even days, and hence is not noticed in the Sangli grant.

The next prince, Govinda, is of course highly praised in his Sangli grant. But the grant before us represents him to be a prince addicted to sensual pleasures, and to have died an early death on account of his vicious courses. The Kharepatan grant agrees with it speaking of him as "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and as surrounded by women." Our grant agrees also with that found at Kharepatan in representing his successor as a very virtuous prince.

His name was Amoghavarsa, and he was the son of Jagattunga and consequently the uncle of Govinda. He assumed the throne, being entreated to do so by the feudatory chiefs, who thought there was none else able to maintain the power of the Rāstrakutas. The Kharepatan grant gives his proper name which was Baddiga. He was assisted in the Government of the kingdom by his son Krsna who was engaged in wars with his neighbours, and subjugated Dantiga, who probably was the ruler of Kānci, and Bappuka. He up-rooted Rachyāmalla and placed on the throne in the Gāṅga country (Gāṅgavatī i. e., Gaṅgevāḍi) a prince of the name of Bhūtārya. In an Inscription at Atakur noticed by Mr. Rice¹ and recently published by Dr. Fleet,² one Būtuga is represented to have killed a prince of the name of Rācamalla and to have made himself master of the Gāṅga country. Būtuga

¹ Śrāvana Belgola Inscriptions, p. 21.

² Epigraphica Indica, Vol. II, Part XI, p. 173.

assisted Kannaradeva, i. e., Kṛṣṇa III, who is mentioned at the beginning of the Inscription, in destroying Rājāditya, the Cola king, and received a reward from him. Būtuga is elsewhere called Būtayya,¹ and our Bhūtārya is a Sanskritised form of this, while our Rāchyāmalla is clearly the Rācamalla of the Atakur Inscription. But in the latter, Kṛṣṇa's connection with the destruction of Rācamalla, and the rise of Butayya, is not mentioned. The reason probably is that it was not necessary to state the fact in that manner. But there can be no question that Būtayya was assisted by Kṛṣṇa and owed his elevation to him, since in the fight with Rājāditya, Būtayya acted as if he was his feudatory, and received a reward as from a master. The Pallava that Kṛṣṇa is mentioned to have subdued, was probably the same as Dantiga, and Bappuka was perhaps another name of Rājāditya the Cola.

On the death of Amoghavarṣa, which seems to have taken place a short time before the date of this grant, Kṛṣṇarāja ascended the throne. He was called Akālavarṣa also, as another prince of this dynasty bearing the name Kṛṣṇa was. Here too the present grant clears up a difficulty. Misunderstanding a passage in the Karda grant, Kṛṣṇa is made by writers on this dynasty to be an elder brother of Amoghavarṣa, and another Kṛṣṇa is brought in, who is identified with one of his younger sons, who never reigned, but is represented to have reigned and is called Kṛṣṇa IV. In my Early History of the Deccan, I have given the true sense of the passage and shewn the mistakes. The Kharepatan grant, which gives the true relationship, and is perfectly clear on the points, was disregarded. But now this grant confirms the account in the Kharepatan plates, so far as it goes, and, according to them both, Baddiga or Amoghavarṣa had no brother of the name of Kṛṣṇa who could have preceded or succeeded him; and that the King who preceded him, was his nephew Govinda IV, and the Kṛṣṇa, who succeeded him, was his son. There was no other Kṛṣṇa who followed this last and could be called Kṛṣṇa IV according to any of our authorities.²

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 270.

² My correction of the mistake about the two Kṛṣṇas was not noticed till very recently, though it was made more than eight years ago. For the

Jagattunga, the brother of Kṛṣṇarāja in whose name the grant of the village is made, must have died before him; for the latter was succeeded by Koṭṭiga, who appears to have been Kṛṣṇarāja's step-brother according to the Karda grant; and he was followed by the son of his brother Nirupama.

Jagattunga's name therefore does not appear in the subsequent history, but those of his brothers who were probably his step-brothers, do.

The name of the grantee ends in Appa or Apayya which shows that he was a Tailanga Brahman. He belonged to the Kāṇva school of the White Yajurveda, and even at the present day, there are the followers of that school near Nagpur. The village Tālapurumīṣaka, which was granted, was bounded on the East by another of the name of Mādāvaiatara, on the South by the river Kandanā, on the West by the village of Mohama or Mohamagrāma, and on the North by Badhrīra. Of these, Kandanā is the river Kanhana, which has a course from the North-west of Nagpur to the South-east; Mohama or Mohamagrāma is the Mohgaon of the present day, situated in the Chhindwada District. Badhrīra is Berdi in the vicinity of that town. Nothing corresponding to the remaining two names appears on the map, and I am not able to identify them.

TRANSCRIPT

J.

स जयति ज(१)गदुत्सवप्रवेशप्रथनपरः करम्भुवो मुरारे: । लसद्मृतपयः क-
णांकलःमीस्तनकलश.नतलध्वसंनवेशः ॥ जयति च गिरजाकपोलविम्बादधिगतप-
ञ्चिर्विचाच्चितांसभित्तः । त्रिपुरग्विर्जयनः प्रिये परेष्ठ द्वृतमदनाभयदानशः सनेव ॥
श्रीमानस्ति नभस्तर्लेकतिलकम्बेलोक्यनेत्रोत्सवो देवो मन्मथचान्धवः कुमुदिनीनाथस्मु-
धादीधितिः । निःशेषामर्गतर्पणार्पितनुप्रक्षीणतालंकृतेयम्यांशः शिरसा गुणप्रियतया
नूनं धृतःसं(शं)भुतः ॥ तस्माद्विक्ष.सनपरः कुमुदवलीनां दोषांधकागदलनः परपूरिताशः । ज्यो-

Atakur Inscription noticed above, is, on the wrapper of Part X of the Epigraphica Indica, issued in August last, referred to "the time of Kṛṣṇa IV." I am, however, glad to see it has since attracted attention and the mistake has come to be tacitly acknowledged as such. For in Part XI of the same periodical issued in September last, i. e. only a month later, that same Inscription is published as "Atakur Inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇa III."

स्तनाप्रवाह इव दर्शितशुद्धपक्षः प्रावर्तत क्षितितले क्षितिपालवंशः ॥ अभवदतुल-
कान्तिस्तनत्र मुक्तामणीनां गण इव यदुवंशो दुर्भासन्नूयमाने । अधिगतहारनीलप्रो-
ष्टसन्नायकश्रीराशिथिलगुणसंगो भूषणं यो भुवोभूत् ॥ उद्गतदेत्यकुलकन्दलशान्तहेतुस्तन्त्रा-
वतारमकरेत्युरुषः पुरणः । तद्वंशजा जगति सात्यकिवर्गभाजस्तुंगा इति क्षितिभुजः प्रथिता
बभूवुः ॥ क्षितितलतिलकस्तदन्वये च क्षतीरपुरुदन्तघटोजनिष्ठ रटः । तमनु च सुतराश्कूट-
नाम्ना भुवि विदितोजनिं राष्ट्रकूटवंशः ॥ तस्मादरार्तवचन्ताकुचचारुहारनीहारभानुरुदगा-
दिह दन्तिदुर्गः । एकं चकार चतुरवृद्धयुपकण्ठसीम क्षेत्रं य एतदसिलांगलाभन्नादुर्गः ॥ तस्मा-
दपालर्यादिमां वसुधां पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णगजनृपार्णः शरदभृशुभ्रेः । यत्कागितेश्वरगृहैव्वसु-
मत्यनेकैलासशौलनिचितेव चिरं विभाति ॥ गोविन्दराज इति नस्य बभूव नाम्ना सूनुस्स भो-

II. first side.

गभरभङ्गरज्यचिन्तः । आत्मानुजे निरुपमे विनिवेश्य सम्यक्सामाज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिलीच-
कार ॥ १८-
तानपत्रत्रितयेन्दुविष्वलीलोदयाद्रेः कलिवहुभाग्यात् । ततः कृतरातिमदेभर्मंगो जातो
जगत्तुंग-

मृगाधिराजः ॥ तत्सूनरानतनृपो नृपतुंगदेवः सोमूत्स्वसेन्यभरभंगुरिताहिराजः । यो मान्यसे-
टमसरन्दपुरोपहासि गीर्वाणगर्वीमव स्वर्वयितुं व्यधत्त ॥ तस्योत्तर्जितगूजंजरो हृतहरह्लाडो-
द्वरश्रीमंदो गोडानां विनयवताप्तिणगुस्सामुद्भनिद्वाहरः । द्वृग्स्थांधकलिंगगांगमगधे-
रभ्यच्छिर्जिताज्ञश्चिरं सूनुस्सूनतवाम्भुवः परिवृद्धः श्रीकृष्णराजोभवत् ॥ अभूजजगत्तुंग इति प्रास-
द्वस्तदंगजः स्त्रीनियनामृतांशः । अलवधरज्यः स दिवं विनिन्ये दिव्यांगनाप्रार्थनयेव धात्रा । त-
न्नंदनः क्षितिमपालर्यदन्द्रराजोयद्वृपसम्भवपरभवभीरुणेव । मानात्परे-
व मदनेन पिनाकपार्णिकोपार्णिना निजतनुः कृ(क्रि)यते स्म भस्म ॥ तस्मादमेघवर्णो(र्णो)
रोद्धनुर्भगजनितवलर्माहिमा । राम इव रामणीयकमहार्नार्धद्विशरथाजजातः ॥ क्षित्रं दि-
वं पितुरिव प्रणयाद्रुतस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोकललामभूतः । रज्यं दधे मदनसोख्य-
विलासकन्दो गोविन्दराज इति विश्रुतनामधेयः ॥ सोप्यंगनानयनपाशनिरुद्भुद्विरुन्मा-
गंसंगविमुखीकृतसर्वसत्त्वः । दोषप्रकोपाविषमप्रकृतिश्लधांगः प्रापत्त्ययं सहजतेज-
सि जातजाङ्गे ॥ सामन्तेरथ रटराज्यमाह्वालम्बार्थमध्यर्थितो देवेनापि पिनाकिना हरिकु-
लोह्लासौषिणा प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो विवेकशु जगत्तुंगत्सजोमोघवाकपेयूषाच्छि-

II. second side.

रमोघवर्षनृपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ॥ श्रीकृष्णराजदेवस्तस्मात्परमेश्वरादजनि सूनुः ।
यः शक्तिधरः स्वामी कुमारभावेष्यभूद्वने ॥ श्रीरटराज्यपुरवरक्षापारखं(खां) मदेन य-
स्यज्ञां । विपुलां विलंघयन्तः स्वयमपत्तं(तनु) द्रोहिणोधस्तात् ॥ येन मधुकेटभाविव पुनरुन्म-
स्तो जनोपमर्दीय । श्रीवल्लभेन निहतौ भुवि दन्तिगवप्युक्तो दुष्टौ ॥ रक्ष्यामल्लविषद्रुमसुद-

स्य निहितेन योकृत सनाथां । भूतार्थपुण्यतरुणा वारीमव गांगपार्टीरे ॥ परिमलिवा(ता !)चिठ्ठ-
गपल्लवविपर्तिरासीन्न विस्मयस्थानं । विस्कुर्गति यत्प्रतापे शोषितावद्वेषिगांगोघेव यस्य
पर्वर्षेक्षताखिलदक्षिणादग्नुर्गाविजयमाकर्ण्य । गलिता गूजरहृदयात्कालंज-
रचित्रकूटाशा ॥ अनमन्नापूर्वापरजलनिधिर्हिमशैलसिंहलदीपात् । यं जन-
काज्ञावशमपि मण्डलिनश्चण्डदण्डभथा(या)त(त) ॥ स्त्रियधश्यामरुचा प्रलम्बभुजा(ज)या
पीनायतोरस्कया
मूर्त्य (त्यो) कीर्तिलताहिनामृतजलेवृत्तेश्च सत्त्वोद्देवैः । ज्ञात्वा यं पुरुषोत्तमं भरसहं विस्वं
(श्वं)भरा-
भुद्धतो शान्ते धार्मन लयं गत(ः) प्रशमिनामाद्यः कृतार्थः पिता । वृत्ते नृत्सुगांगने सरभसं
द्विव्यर्थिदत्ताशिषि श्रीकान्तस्य नितान्तभार्पितहरे गज्याभिषेकोत्सवे । यस्यावद्वकरग्रहोद्य-
मभवत्कंपानुगगोद्याद्विक्फन्याः स्वसमर्पणार्थमभवल्लभानुक(कु)ल्यप्रियाः ॥ स च परम-
भट्टाकमहाराजार्धिगजपरमेश्वरश्रीमद्मोघवर्षदेवपादानुद्या(ध्या)तपरमभट्टा-
रकमहागजार्धिगजपरमेश्वरगपरमसमाहेश्वर श्रीमद्कालवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीष(श)व-
प्रेय(प्रिय?)नरन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वाकेन व स्वजानपदान्ममाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
श्रीमान्य-

III.

[स्वे] द्वराजधानीस्थितेन शकनृपकालानीतसंवत्सराशतेष्वष्टु द्विषष्ट्यधिकेषु शार्वर्गिसं-
वत्सरान्तर्गतवैशास्वद्वलपृष्ठ(ञ्च)स्यां सम प्राणेभ्योपि प्रियतमस्य कनीयसो भ्रातुः श्रीम-
वजगत्तुंगदेवस्य पुण्यवर्षोभवृद्धये ॥ अपि च ॥ ज्येष्ठे भ्रातार कुर्वना निहयमां भक्ति जितो
लक्षणः सोन्दर्येण मनोभवः सुर्चागतेगमस्स धर्मात्मज (ः) । कान्त्या शीतर्हचश्च येन
सततं शौच्ये-
ण सिंहो जगत्तुंगस्यास्त्वाभवाच्छितप्रदमिदं तस्येति दानं भुवः ॥ अनेनाभिसर्वधिना मया नन्द-
वद्वन्विनग्नतभाग्नाजसगोत्रवार्जिकाण्वकना(कान्त्य ?)सब्रह्मचारभाइल्लसुतवेदवेदांग-
पारगरिलि(षि)यत्पाय नागपुर्णान्दवद्वन्नन्तर्गतनालपुरुषंकनामा ग्रामः सोद्वंगः स-
परिकरः सधान्याहरणयद्यः सदण्डदेष्टदशापराधः सर्वोर्पात्तसाहितः
पूर्वप्रसिद्धचतुःसीमपर्यन्तः । ब्रह्मद्रायन्यायेनाचन्द्राद्विनमस्यो दत्तः । य-
स्य पूर्वतः मादावद्वरग्नामा ग्रामः । दक्षिणतः कन्दना नदी । परिश्रमतः मोहमग्रामः । उ-
त्तरतः ब्रह्मग्राम एवं चनुराघाटविशुद्धं नालुरुषंकं रिषियपत्यस्य कृषतः कर्षयतो
भुंजनो भोजयतो वा न केनाच्चद्वयाग्रातः कार्यः । यश्च व्याघ्रातं करोति स पण्च(ञ्च)भिरपि
महा-
पातकेः संयुक्तः स्यात् ॥ अन्यच्च (!) ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । स विष्णयां
कृमि-
मूत्वा पितृभिः सह पन्थते ॥ सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्तपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्दिः । स-

षांवं भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रभूयो भूयो यचते रमभद्रः ॥ चेवानन्तरस्य भ्रात्रा योग्राष्ट्य-
न लिखितमिति ॥

TRANSLATION.

Triumphant is the leaf-like hand of the enemy of Mura (Visṇu) which, being placed on the jar-like breasts of Lakṣmī marked by particles of nectar-water, and on her face, proclaimed the entrance of the world on a joyous festival. And triumphant is the rampart-like shoulder of the conqueror of the three cities or of Tripura (Śiva), which is adorned by the colored figures impressed on it by the [close contact of the] cheeks of the daughter of the Mountain (Pārvatī), and which thus bears as it were, through a regard for his beloved, an edict promising safety to the god of Love. There is the glorious god, the only ornament of the surface of the sky, the delight of the eyes of the three worlds, the friend of Love, the lord of the night-lotus plants, whose rays are full of nectar, whose diminished form, owing to his having given up his body for the gratification of the gods, is his ornament, and a part of whom is worn on the head by Śambhu—verily on account of his love for virtues. From him sprang forth on earth a race of princes like a stream of moonlight, which extended the series of the joys of the world as that blows open the series of night-lotuses, which destroyed the darkness of sin as that destroys the darkness of night, which spread in all quarters (as that does), and which had unblemished adherents as that constituted the light half of a month.¹ From that race which was like an ocean of milk, arose the family of Yadu, like a necklace of pearls, which like it had a matchless splendour, the leadership of which was gracefully borne by the dark-complexioned Hari when he flourished, as the beauty of the central gem in that is borne by a sapphire when it is put in, which had indelible virtues, as that is firmly interwoven with a string,² and which was the ornament of the world. In that family, the eternal Being became incarnate to destroy the crowds of Daityas who had grown tumultuous ; and members of

1 The epithets here are used in two senses, one of which is applicable to the family of the moon and the other to the moonlight.

2 The epithets अधिगतहरिनीलप्राळमन्नाशक्तीः and अशिधिलग्नसंगः have two senses, one applicable to the family of Yadu and the other to the necklace of pearls,

that family belonging to the Sātyakin clan became celebrated princes, because they were great. From that race sprang Rati, the ornament of the surface of the earth, who killed the arrays of the elephants of his enemies ; after him the Rāstrakūta family became known in the world by the name of [his] son Rāstrakūta. From that [family] arose Dantidurgga, who was a sun to the fog in the shape of the charming necklaces on the breasts of the wives of his enemies, and who having broken the unevennesses by a ploughshare in the shape of his sword, made this one field with the shores of the four oceans for its boundaries. After him, his paternal uncle, King Kṛṣṇarāja, protected this earth, by the temples of Iśvara (Śiva) constructed by whom, the earth shines for ever as if decorated by many Kailāsa mountains. He had a son of the name of Govindarāja. Sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom, and entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose. From him who was called Kalivallabha, and who was the sportive rising mount of the moon in the shape of the triad of the white umbrellas, was born Jagattunga, the lion who destroyed the maddened elephants of his enemies. His son, to whom kings bowed, and who tortured the king of serpents by the heavy mass of his army, was that lord Nṛpatunga who founded Mānyakheta which laughed down [to scorn] the city of the Indra of the gods, in order as it were to humble the pride of the gods. His son, the prosperous Kṛṣṇarāja, became for a long time the lord of the earth, who spoke pleasant words, frightened the Gūrjjara, destroyed the egregious pride generated by prosperity of the arrogant Lāṭa [king], was the preceptor who charged the Gaudas with the vow of humility, and deprived the people on the sea coast of their sleep, and whose command was honoured (obeyed) by the Āndhra, the Kalinga, the Gāṅga, and the Magadha waiting at his gate. He had a son, known as Jagattunga, who was a nectar-rayed [moon] to the eyes of women. He was taken to heaven by the Creator without his having got the Kingdom, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels. Indrarāja his son protected the earth; it was from a fear as it were of the indignity likely to be caused [in future] by his beauty that the god of Love, even before, reduced his body to

ashes through pride, by means of the fire of the wrath of the wielder of the Pināka (Siva). From him was born Amoghavarṣa, as Rāma was from Daśaratha, the greatness of whose power was shown by the breaking of a terrible bow of Rudra¹ and who (like him) was the great store-house of beauty. He having immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father, his younger brother, the ornament of the world of men, and the source of the sportive pleasures of love, known by the name of Govindarāja, ruled the kingdom. And he, too, with his intelligence fettered by the chains of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses ; and his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the [political] body becoming non-coherent, as the subjects were discontented through the aggravation of the vices,² and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralized, he met with destruction. Then the king Amoghavarsa, son of Jagattunga, the first among the thoughtful or wise, the sea of the nectar of whose words was unfailing, being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rāttas and also prompted by the god, the wielder of the Pināka (Siva), who desired the prosperity of the family of Hari (Kṛṣṇa), ascended the throne of heroes. From that sovereign lord was born a son, the king Kṛṣṇarāja, who, though a boy, exercised power in the world and was the lord, and was verily Kumāra, Śaktidhara, and Svāmin.³ His enemies transgressing his command which was the wide moat that protected the great city in the shape of the sovereignty of the Rāttas, themselves fell down. He, Śri-Vallabha, killed on this earth the wicked Dantiga and Bappka, who were as it were Madhu and Kaitabha, again grown insolent for the torment of men. He planted as it were in a garden in the field of the Gāngas the holy tree of Bhūtārya, having uprooted the poisonous tree of Rachyāmalla. While his

1 रुद्रधनुर्मूङ has two senses.

2 The epithet द्रोपपकेष &c., has two senses, one physical and the other political. So also नेजस् in सहजनेजसि is to be taken in two senses, one fitting with the physical interpretation and the other with the political.

3 These are three of the names of the god Kārtikeya. The words are to be interpreted also in their ordinary sense as above.

prowess, which was like heat and which destroyed numbers of Gāngas his enemies, as that (heat) dries up the stream of the Ganges, was glowing, what wonder is there if the Pallava Añthiga (Dantiga ?) who was beaten, was reduced to a sad condition as fragrant leaves are by heat¹ ? On hearing of the conquest of the strongholds in the South simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūta dropped away from the heart of the Gurjjara. All the feudatories from the eastern to the western ocean and from the Himālaya to the island of Simhala bowed to him from the fear of being severely punished, though he himself was obedient to his father. By his bodily form, which had a dark glossy colour, long arms, and broad and massive chest, and by his virtuous deeds, which were the nectar-water that fed the creeper in the shape of his fame, knowing him to be an excellent man (or Viṣṇu) to deliver the earth (or bring out the submerged earth), his father, the best of sages, who had attained the object of life, vanished into the peaceful abode. When the festival consequent on the coronation of the beloved of Śri (prosperity), who had greatly frightened Hari (husband of Śri), in which celestial damsels danced, and the heavenly Rsis pronounced their benedictions, was over, the quarters as girls, which began to tremble at his preparation to exact tribute, as those should manifest love and tremor at his preparation to take their hand, became pleasing to him in consequence of their observing the proper time for paying it of their own accord, as those should be dear in consequence of their keeping to the auspicious juncture for giving themselves.²

He, the King Akālavarsadeva, the highest lord, the sovereign lord of kings, the highest ruler, a great devotee of Maheśvara, Pṛthvivallabha, the favourite of Sarva (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of the prosperous Amogha-varsadeva, the highest lord, the sovereign lord of kings, the highest ruler, being well, commands the men of his country : “ Be it known to you, that for the enhancement of the holy fame of my younger brother, Jagattungadeva, who is dearer to me even than

¹ There is a play here on the words “ Ganga ” and “ Pallava.”

² Two senses here throughout.

my life, I have, living in the capital Mānyakhetā, granted on the fifth of the dark half of Vaisākha of the year Śārvati, when eight hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, with the feeling that this grant of land may fulfil the wishes of Jagattunga, as if it were his,—Jagattunga, who has surpassed Lakṣmaṇa, by serving his eldest brother with incomparable devotion, the god of Love by his beauty, and Rāma (and) the son of Dharma by his good deeds, the cool-rayed (moon) by his lustre, and the lion by his bravery—to Risiyappa, originally living in Nandivardhana, belonging to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, student of the Vedic school of Vāji, Kanva, and Kata, the son of Bhāilla, and conversant with the Vedas and the subsidiary treatises, the village of Tālapuruṁśaka, situated in Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, along with what is set aside and the appurtenances, with the assessment in grain and gold, with the flaws in the measurement (measuring rod), and mishaps (due to fortune),¹ with all its produce, up to its four previously known boundaries, and to be respected as long as the Sun and the Moon last, in the manner of a Brahman-gift. To the east of it is a village of the name of Mādāvatāra, to the south, the river Kandanā, to the west the village Mohama [and] to the north the village of Badhrīra. No one should obstruct Risiyappa while he cultivates Tālapuruṁśaka, having these four boundaries, or causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed; and he who will obstruct will incur the five great sins. Moreover:—‘He who takes away the land that has been given away by himself or others, becomes a worm in ordure, and wallows there along with his ancestors. Rāmabhadra again and again entreats future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, which is common to all kings.’ Engraved by Yogrāṣṭya, the brother of Cevānanvera.

1 This, I think, is the proper translation of the phrase सद्यक्षर्तव्यापाद or सद्यक्षर्तव्यापाद, which occurs almost in all grants, but the correct or appropriate sense of which, does not seem to have been yet found out. By inserting this expression, the grantor absolves himself from all responsibility about loss consequent upon a mistake in the measurement and upon changes due to adverse natural occurrences or the “doings of God” as they are called.

A REVISED TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION
OF THE RASTRAKUTA
DEOLI PLATES OF KRŚNA III OF SAKA-SAMVAT 862.

[From the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V, 1898-99, pp. 188ff.]

The copper-plates, a transcript and translation of which are given below, were found in a well in Deoli, about 10 miles southwest of Wardha near Nagpur. They were first published by me in Vol. XVIII of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.¹ The Editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* having procured the original plates from the Secretary of the Society and having got a new facsimile prepared, I now publish a revised edition of my paper on those plates.

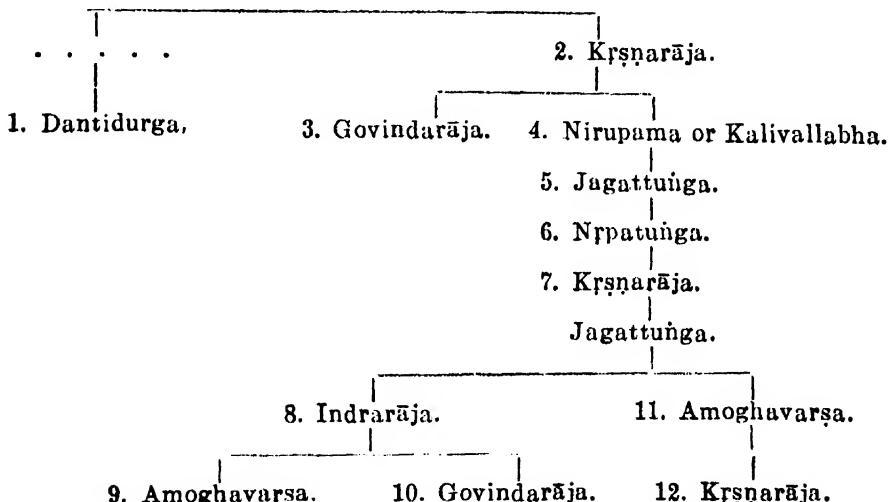
The plates are three in number, each being about one foot in length and about eight inches in breadth. The Inscription is engraved on one side of the first plate, on both sides of the second and on one side of the third. The letters are carefully and well formed in the first part, but in the latter the work is negligently done, and in consequence several letters look alike. The seal bears a figure of Siva.²

1 This paper is printed here immediately before the present article. [N.B.U]

2 Dr. Gerson da Cunha was good enough to send me the plates and seal for examination. The seal is soldered on the two ends of a copper ring, which is $4\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. The ring had been already cut when I received the plates. The seal is of square shape, like that of the Karda plates of Kakka II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 263). It measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ " both ways and bears, in relief, a seated figure of Siva which faces the front and holds a snake in each hand. On Siva's proper right are, from top to bottom, an image of Gaṇapati, a Cauri and a lamp; and on his proper left the goddess Pārvatī riding on a lion, and below her a Svastika. At the base of the figure is inscribed the legend Śrīmato Arthadasya, in which Arthada, 'the giver of wealth,' must be taken as a synonym of Akālavarsa, which was a Biruda of Krṣṇa III. Along the margin of the seal passes a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a Liṅga and an elephant-goad are recognisable.—This note is by the Editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*. [N. B. U.]

The inscription is a charter announcing the grant of a village, named Tālapurumṣaka (ll. 53 and 57) and situated in the district of Nagapura-Nandivardhan' to a Brahman named Risiappa or Risiyapayya (ll. 53 and 57), of the Vedic schools of Vājin and Kāṇva and of the Bhāradvāja Gōtra. The grant was made by Kṛṣṇa III, or Akālavarsa of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family in the name of his brother Jagattuṅga (II. 48 f. and 51), while staying at his capital Mānyakhēṭa (l. 46 f.), in the year 862, expired, of the Śaka era, corresponding to 940-41 A. D., on the 5th Tithi of the dark half of Vaiśākha, the cyclic year being Sārvarin (l. 47 f.).

The genealogy of Kṛṣṇa III. is thus given.—



This grant clears up several doubts and difficulties as regards the genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In the first place, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family is said to have sprung from the Sātyaki branch of the Yādava race and to be known by the name of Tuṅga (verse 6). The genealogy begins with Dantidurga (v. 8), as it was he who acquired for his family the supreme sovereignty of Mahārāṣṭra or the Deccan, the limits of which were the Narmadā in the North and the Tuṅgabhadrā in the South. He was succeeded by his

¹ It deserves to be noted that the names of the village granted and of its boundaries and district, as well as those of the donee and of his father, Śākhā, Gotra and native village, are engraved on erasures. Hence the names of the four boundaries of Tālapurumṣaka are difficult to read and uncertain.—This Note is by the Editor of the Epigraphia Indica. [N. B. U.]

paternal uncle Kṛṣṇa I, who is represented to have decorated the earth with many temples of Śiva, which looked like the Kailāśa mountain (v. 9). I have shown in my Early History of the Deccan that a temple of exceedingly great beauty was caused to be constructed at Ellora by this Kṛṣṇarāja, and have said that it was *perhaps* the Kailāśa itself. I shoud have said that it could be no other than the Kailāśa. For, if the demigods saw it while moving in the sky in their aerial cars, and were struck with its beauty, as stated in the Baroda Inscription, the temple must have had a carved exterior; i. e., it must have been a temple entirely cut out from the rock, and not a mere cave temple without an architectural exterior. There is one such only at Ellora, and that is the Kailāśa. The comparison, made in the present grant, of the temples constructed by Kṛṣṇarāja with Kailāśa, points, I believe, in the same direction.

The circumstances under which Dhruva Nirupama superseded his brother Govinda II are distinctly given. Sensual pressures made Govinda careless of the kingdom; and, entrusting the affairs of the state to his younger brother, he allowed the sovereign power to drop away from his hands (v. 10). Nothing particular is stated about Govinda III or Jagattunga. His son, known as Amoghavarṣa, the great patron of the Digambara Jainas is here called Nrpatunga (v. 12), which name is found in a Jaina work also. The city of Mānyakhetā, which, in one grant, is mentioned as simply flourishing in his time, is represented here to have been founded by him.

His son, Kṛṣṇa II, who is also known by the name of Akālavarṣa, is spoken of as a powerful prince, and several particulars are given about him. He frightened the Gurjara, destroyed the pride of Lāṭa, taught humility to the Gaudas, and his command was obeyed by the Āṅga, the Kalinga, the Gāṅga and the Magadha (v. 13). As this Kṛṣṇarāja was not the reigning prince, whom the writer of the charter might be suspected of flattering, and as the grant is not reticent about the faults also of some of the other princes, this account may be relied on as true. Akālavarṣa is represented as a powerful prince in the Praśasti at the end of the Uttara Purāṇa of the Jainas also. The Lāṭa prince alluded to seems to have belonged

to the Gujrāt branch of the Rāstrakūṭa family, which was founded in the time of Govinda III or Jagattunga, who assigned the province of Lāṭa, that he had conquered, to his brother Indra. Akālavarsa, the grandson of Jagattunga, seems thus to have humbled or uprooted his kinsmen of the Lāṭa country.

Jagattunga was the name of Akālavarsa's son. From the mere fact of the mention of his name in the grants, he was supposed to have been a reigning prince; and following others, I stated in the first English edition of my Early History of the Deccan that he became king after his father. But from a number of circumstances it soon appeared to me that he could not have been an actual king, and in the Marathi edition of the work I corrected that statement. This inference of mine has now been confirmed by the grant before us, in which he is represented to have been taken away by the creator to heaven without having succeeded to the throne, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels who had heard of his beauty (v. 14). Akālavarsa was thus succeeded by his grandson Indra III, the son of Jagattunga.

There has hitherto been some confusion as regards the next prince, named Amoghavarsa, who was the son of Indra III. He is not mentioned by name or as a king in the Sangli grant of his brother and successor, but is noticed in the Kharepatan grant; while in the third and only other grant which gives us information about the two princes, there is a mistake which has led all writers on the subject to drop Govinda IV altogether and regard Amoghavarsa as the only prince. But the grant before us clears the difficulty. Amoghavarsa is there spoken of as "having immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father" (v. 17). He reigned therefore for a very short time (for a year, as stated in the Bhadana grant published after this), and hence is not noticed in the Sangli grant.

The next prince, Govinda IV, is of course highly praised in his Sangli grant. But the grant before us represents him to be a prince addicted to sensual pleasures, and to have died an early death on account of his vicious courses (v. 18). The Kharepatan grant agrees with it in speaking of him as "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love" and as "surrounded by women."

Our grant agrees also with that found at Kharepatan in representing his successor as a very virtuous prince. His name was Amoghavarsa, and he was the son of Jagattunga, and consequently the uncle of Govinda IV. He assumed the throne, being entreated to do so by the feudatory chiefs, who thought there was none else able to maintain the power of the Rāshtrakūṭas (v. 19). The Kharepatan grant gives his proper name, which was Baddiga. He was assisted in the government of the kingdom by his son Kṛṣṇa III, who was engaged in wars with his neighbours and subjugated Dantiga and Vappuka (v. 22). He uprooted Rachyāmalla and placed on the throne in the Gāṅga country (Gāṅgapāṭī, i. e. Gaṅgavāḍī) a prince of the name of Bhūtārya (v. 23). In an Inscription at Atakur, noticed by Mr. Rice¹ and published by Dr. Fleet,² one Būtuga is represented to have killed a prince of the name of Rācamalla and to have made himself master of the Gāṅga country. Būtuga assisted Kannardeva, i. e., Kṛṣṇa III, who is mentioned at the beginning of the Inscription, in destroying Rājāditya, the Cola king, and received a reward from him. Būtuga is elsewhere called Būtayya;³ and our Bhūtārya is a Sanskritised form of this, while our Rachyāmalla is clearly the Rācamalla of the Atakur Inscription. But in the latter, Kṛṣṇa's connection with the destruction of Rācamalla and the rise of Būtayya are not mentioned. The reason probably is that it was not necessary to state the fact in that manner. But there can be no question that Būtayya was assisted by Kṛṣṇa III, and owed his elevation to him, since, in the fight with Rājāditya, Būtayya acted as if his feudatory and received a reward as from a master. The name of the Pallava whom Kṛṣṇa III is stated to have subdued was Anniga (v. 24). Who the Dantiga and Vappuka were, that he put down, it is difficult to say; but the former name was borne by some Pallava rulers of Kāñcī.

On the death of Amoghavarsa, which seems to have taken place a short time before the date of this grant, Kṛṣṇa III ascended the throne (v. 28). He was called Akālavarsa also, as

¹ Inscriptions at Sravana-Belgola, p. 21.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 173.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 270.

the other princes of this dynasty, bearing the name Kṛṣṇa, were. Here too the present grant clears up a difficulty. Misunderstanding a passage in the Karda grant, Kṛṣṇa III is made by writers on this dynasty to be an elder brother of Amoghavarsa, and another Kṛṣṇa is brought in, who is identified with one of his younger sons, who never reigned, but is represented to have reigned and is called Kṛṣṇa IV. In my Early History of the Deccan I have given the true sense of the passages and shewn the mistakes. The Kharepatan grant, which gives the true relationship and is perfectly clear on the points, was disregarded. But now the present grant confirms the account in the Kharepatan plates, so far as it goes, and, according to them both, Baddiga or Amoghavarsa had no brother of the name of Kṛṣṇa who could have preceded or succeeded him ; the king who preceded him was his nephew Govinda IV ; and the Kṛṣṇa who succeeded him was his son. There was no other Kṛṣṇa, who followed this last and could be called Kṛṣṇa IV, according to any of our authorities.

Jagattunga, the brother of Kṛṣṇa III, in whose name the grant of the village is made, must have died before him ; for the latter was succeeded by Khottiga, who appears to have been Kṛṣṇarāja's step-brother according to the Karda grant, and he was followed by the son of his brother Nirupama. Jagattunga's name therefore does not appear in the subsequent history, but those of his brothers who were probably his step-brothers.

The name of the grantee ends in appa, or apayya, which shows that he was a Southern Brahman. He belonged to the Kānva school of the White Yajurveda, and even at the present day there are followers of that school near Nagpur. The village Tālapuruṁsaka, which was granted, was bounded on the East by another of the name of [Mādāṭadhīndhara], on the South by the river [Kanhanā], on the West by the village of [Mohama] or [Mohama] grāma, and on the North by [Vadhrira] (l. 56 f.). Of these, Kanharā is the present river of the same name, which has a course from the North-west of Nagpur to the South-east ; Mohama or Mohama-grāma is the Mohgaon of the present day, situated in the Chindwada District, about 50 miles to the North-west of Nagpur ; and Vadhrira is Berdi in the vicinity of that town. Nothing corres-

ponding to the remaining two names appears on the map, and I am not able to identify them.

TRANSCRIPT.¹

FIRST PLATE.

१ ओं^२ [॥०] स जयति [ज]गदुत्स[व]प्रवेशप्रथनपरः करपल्लवो मुरांरः ।
ल[सद]मृतपयःक-

२ णांकलंकर्मीस्तनकलशाननलव्यधर्मान्वशः^३ ॥ [१०] जयति च गिरिजाकपोल-
विम्बादधिगतप-^४

३ त्रिविचित्रितांसभित्तिः । त्रिपुरविजयिनः प्रिये प[रो]धाद्वृतमदनाभ[यद]नशा-
सनेव ॥ [२०]

४ श्रीमानस्ति नभस्तलैकतिलकख्लोक्यनेत्रोत्स[वो] देवो मन्मथवान्धवः^५ कुमुदि-
नीनाथस्मु-

५ धारीधितिः^६ । निःशेषः मरतर्पणार्पिततत्तुप्रक्षीणतालंकृतेर्यस्यांशः शिरसा गुण-
प्रियतया

६ नूनं धृतः शम्भुना ॥ [३०] तस्माद्विकासनपरः कुमुदावर्णीनां दोषांधकार-
दलनः परिपूरिताशः । ज्यो-

७ [स्तन]प्रवाह इव दर्शितशुद्धपक्षः प्रावर्त्तते क्षितितले क्षितिपालवंशः ॥
[४०] अभवदतु[ल]-

८ कान्तिस्तत्र मुक्तामणीनां गण इव यदुवर्णो दुरधासिन्वृयमाने । अधिगत-
हरिनील[प्रो]-

९ ल्लसन्नायकश्रीरशिथिलगुणसंगो भूषणं[यो] भुवोभूत् ॥ [५०] उद्भृत्तदै-
त्यकुलकन्दलशान्तिहेतुस्त[त्र]ा-

१० वतारमकरोत्पुरुषः पुराणः । तद्वंशजा जगति सत्यांकवर्गभाजस्तुगा इति
क्षितिभुजः प्र[थि]ता

1 From Dr. Hultzsch's ink-impressions.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Read लक्ष्मी.

4 Read लब्ध.

5 Read विम्बा^०.

6 Read चान्धवः.

7 Read दीर्घितेः

११ वभूवः^१ ॥ [६०] क्षितिलतिलकस्तदन्वये च क्ष[त]रिपुदान्तिघटोजनिष्ट
रुः । तमनु च सुतरा[श्रूक]ट-

१२ नामा भुवि विदितोजनि राश्रूकटवंशः [७०] तस्मादरातिव[नि]ताकुच-
चा[रु]हारनीहारभानु[रु]दगा-

१३ दिह दन्तिदुर्गः । एकं [च]कार चतुरब्ध्युपकण्ठसीम श्वेत्वं य [ए]-
तदसिलांगलभिन्न[दुर्गः]^२ ॥ [८०] [त]स्मा-

१४ दपालयदिमां वसुधां पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः शरदघ्रशुश्रैः । यत्का-
रितेश्वरगृहैर्वसु-

१५ [म]त्यनेककैलासशैलनिचितव चिरं विभाति ॥ [९०] गोविन्दराज इति
तस्य वभूव^३ नामा सूनुस्स भो-

SECOND PLATE ; FIRST SIDE.

१६ गभर[भं]गुरराज्य[चि]न्तः । आत्मानुजे^४ निशप[मे] विनिवेश्य सम्यक्षसाम्रा-
ज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिलीचकार ॥ [१००] [थे]-

१७ तातपत्रवितयेन्दुविम्बलीलोदयोद्वेः^५ कलिवलभाख्यात् । ततः रुतारातिमदेभ-
भंगो जातो जगतुंग-

१८ [मृ]गाधिराजः ॥ [११०] तत्सुनुरानतनृपो चृपतुंगदेवः सोभूत्स्वसंन्यभरभंगु-
रिताद्विराजः । यो मान्यखे-

१९ उ[म]मरेन्द्रपुरोपहासि गर्विर्वाणगर्वमिव खर्वयितुं व्यधत्त ॥ [१२०] तस्यो-
त्तर्जितगूर्जरो हृतहटलाटो-

२० छटश्रीमदो गोडानां विनयवतार्पणगुरुस्सामुद्रनिद्राहरः । द्वारस्थां[ग]कलिंग-
गांगमगधै-

२१ रम्यचिताज्ञश्चिरं रूनुसूनृतवागभुवः परिवृढः श्रीकृष्णराजोभवत् ॥ [१३०]
अभूजगतुंग इति प्रसि-

२२ छ[स्त]दंगजः स्त्रीनयनामृतांशुः । ^६अलब्धराज्यः स दिवं विनिन्ये दिव्यां-
गनप्रार्थनयेव धात्रा ॥ [१४०] त-

२३ छ[द]नः क्षितिमपालयदिन्द्राजो यद्वूपस[म्भ]वपराभवमीसणेव । मानात्पुरे-

२४ [व मद]नेन पिनाकपाणिकोपामिना निज[त]नुः कृयते? [स्म] भस्म ॥
[१५०] [त]स्मादमोघवर्वो^७

1 Read वभूवः.

2 Read चतुरब्ध्युपः.

3 Read अंत्रे.

4 Read दुर्गः.

5 Read वभूव नामा.

7 Read विपाच.

6 The Akṣara नु is entered above the line.

9 Read रम्यचितां.

10 Read भ्रात्य.

8 Read जगतुंग.

12 Read वर्वो.

11 Read क्रियते.

२५ [रै]द्रधनुभंगज[नि]तवलमहिमा^१ । राम इव रामणीयकमहानिधिर्दशरथा-
ज्जातः ॥ [१६*] क्षिप्रं दि-

२६ वं पि[तु]रिव प्रणयाद्रतस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोकललामभूतः । राज्यं दधे
मदनसौख्य-

२७ विलासकन्दो गोविन्दराज इति ^२विशुतनामधेयः ॥ [१७*] सोप्यंगमानयन-
पाशनि[रु]द्वुद्धिरुन्म[१]-

२८ गर्वसंगविमुखीकृतसर्वसत्वः ॥ दोषप्रकोपविषमप्रकृति[श्ल]थांगः प्रापत्क्षयं सह-
जतेज-

२९ सि जातजा[ञ्चे] ॥ [१८*] [स]मन्तै[र]थ रद्वराज्यमहिमालम्वार्थमभ्यर्थितो^३
देवेनापि पिनाकिना हरिकु-

३० लोल्लासैषिणः प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो वि[वे]किषु ज[ग]तुंगात्मजोमोघ-
वाक्पेयूषा[धिध]-^४

SECOND PLATE ; SECOND SIDE.

३१ रमोघर्वर्षनृपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ॥ [१९*] श्रीकृ[ण]राजदेवस्तस्मात्परमेश्व-
रादजनि सूतुः ।

३२ [यः] शक्तिधरः स्वामी कुमारभविष्यभूद्गुवने ॥ [२०*] [श्री]रद्वराज्यपुरवर-
क्षापरि[खां] मदेन य-

३३ स्याज्ञां । विपुलां विलंघयन्तः स्वयमपतं^५ द्रोहि[णो]ध[स्त]त् ॥ [२१*]
येन मधुकेटभाविष्य पुनरुन्म-

३४ [गनौ] जनोपमर्द्धाय । श्रीवल्लभेन निहनौ भुवि दन्तिगवपुक्तौ दुष्टैः ॥
[२२*] र[छ्या]म[ल्ल]विष[द्वद्वमुद-

३५ [स्य] निहितेन योकृत सनाथां । भूतार्यपुण्यतरुणा वाटीमिव गंगपाटीश
॥ [२३*] परि[म]लि[ताण्णि]-

३६ [ग]पलवविपत्तिरासी[च] विस्मयस्थानं । विस्फुरति यत्प्रतापे शोषितविद्वे-
[षि]गंगौघे व^६ [२४*] य[स्य]

३७ प[रु]षेक्षिताखिलदक्षिणदिग्दुर्गविजयमाकर्ण्य । गलिता गूर्जरहृदयात्कालंज-

३८ रचित्रकूटाशा ॥ [२५*] अनमज्जा पूर्वापिरजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलब्दीपात् ।
यं [ज]न-

1 Read धन.

2 Read विश्रुत.

3 Read बुद्धि^७.

4 Read लम्बार्थः.

3 Read °माच्चिवः.

6 Read °मपन्.

7 This व represents a mark of punctuation (॥).

४९ काज्ञावशमपि मण्डलिनश्चण्डण्डभ[यात्] ॥ [२६*] लिगधश्यामरुचा 'प्रलम्ब-
भुज(१) [या] पीनायतोर[स्क]या

५० [मू]र्त्यै कीर्तिलताहितामृतजलेवृत्तेभ्य सत्वोद्भवैः । जात्वा यं पु[रुषो]त्तमं
[भर]सहं विश्वंभरा^३

५१ [भ्यु]द्वृतौ शान्ते धान्त्रि लयं गत[:]^४ प्रशमिनामाद्यः कृतार्थः पिता ॥
[२७*] वृत्ते नृत्तसु[र]ांगने सर[भ]सं

५२ दिव्य[र्षि]दत्ताशिषि श्रकान्तस्य नितान्त[भाषि]तहरे^५ राज्याभिषेषोक्तस्वे ।
‘य[स्य]’व[द्ध]करप्रहोद्य-

५३ ममवत्कंपानुरागोदयाद्विक[न्य]ः स्वसमर्पणार्थमभवलग्नानुकूल्यप्रियाः^६ ॥ [२८*]
स च पर[म]-

५४ भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमद[सो]घवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातप र म भ [द्व] १-८

५५ रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमद[क]लवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवद्भभश्री[मद्व]-
५६ [लभ]नरेन्द्रदेवैः कुशली सर्वा[के]व^७ स्वजानपद्म]न्स[म]ज्ञाप[यत्यस्तु ष]ः
संविदितं यथा [श्री]मा[न्य]-

THIRD PLATE.

५७ [से*] [ट]राजधानीस्थितेन शकनृपकालातीतसंव[स्त]गश्तेष्वष्ट(१)सु द्विष[ष्ट्य]धिके-
[ष] शार्वरिसं-

५८ [वत्सरा]न्तर्गतवैशाखवहुलपञ्चन्याः^८ मम प्राणे^९भ्योपि प्रियतमस्य कनीय[सो
भातुः] श्री[म]-

५९ [ज्ञ]गन्तुंगदेवस्य पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥ आपि१० च ॥ [ज्ये]ष्टे भातरि कुर्वन्ता
निहपमा [भ]क्ति जितो

५० [लक्ष्म]णः सौ[न्दर्य]ण^{११} [म]नोभवः सुचरितै रामस्स ध[र्मात्म] जा^{१२}।
कान्त्या श्री[त]रुचि]श्च येन सततं शो[र्ये]-

५१ ण सिंहो जग[त्तु]गस्या[स्त्व]भिवाच्छतप्रदमि^{१३} दं तस्येति दानं भुवः ॥
[२९*] अनेनाभिसंधिना मया नन्दि-

५२ वर्द्धनविनि[गर्ग]तभारद्वाजस[गोत्र]वा[जि]काण्व[शास्त्रा]सवह्नचारिभःइह्नसुतवेद[वेदा-
ग]-^{१४}

1 Read प्रलम्ब.

2 Read मूर्त्या.

3 Read विश्वंभरा.^०

4 The lower dot of the Visarga after गत is missing. 5 Read तोषित.

6 Read यस्यायद्व^१. 7 Read °भवल्लंगनानुकूल्य^२. 8 Read पादानुयात.

9 Read सर्वनिष.

10 Read वहुलपञ्चम्यां.

11 Read अपि.

12 Read सौन्दर्येण.

13 Read धर्मात्मजः. The sign after ज in धर्मात्मज may be intended for the
Jihvāmūliya.

14 Read सब्रह्मचारि.

५३ पारगरि[ष]यप्याय ना[ग]पुरन[न्द]वद्वनान्तर्माततालपु[रु]षकनामा ग्रामः सो-
द्रंगः स-

५४ प[र्ग]क[र]: मधान्यहिण्यादेयः सदण्डदोषदशपराधः स[ब्बो]त्पत्तिसहितः

५५ पू[ब्बप]सिद्धचतुःसमपर्यन्तः । व्रहदायन्या[ये]नाचन्द्रार्कं न[म]स्यो दत्तः । य
५६ [स्य पू]र्वन[ः*] [मादाटदिंहर]न[मा] ग्रामः । दक्षिणतः [कन्हना]नदी ।

पश्चिमतः [मोहम]ग्रामः । उ-

५७ त्त[रतः वर्णीरग्राम] एवं चनुराघातविशुद्धं तालपु[रुष]क^३ रिष्यपत्थ्य[स्य-
रु]पतः कर्षयतो

५८ भुजनो भोजयतो वा [न के]नर्चिदृयाघातः [क]ाय[ः]^३ पै यश्च व्याघा]-
तं करोनि स पञ्चभिरपि महा-

५९ पानकेः संयुक्तः स्थान् ॥ स्वस्यवाऽ ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे^२त
वमुन्धरां । [स] विष्टायां रु[मि]-

६० भून्वा पूर्वाभः [स]ह पन्थ्यते ॥ [३०*] सामान्योर्यं भर्मसेतुर्नुपाणां काले
का[ले] पालनीयो भवाङ्गः । स-

६१ वां[ने]वं भाविनःः पार्थिवन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रा[म]भद्रः ॥ [३१*]
[चे]वान[न्वेर]स्य [भ्रात्रा] यो[ग्राम्ये]-

६२ न लिखिताम्]नि [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

[The first 28 verses are identical with verses 1-8, 10-13, 15-21, 24, and 26-33 of the Karhad plates, and have been already translated above, pp. 285 ff., and also in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, pp. 286 ff.]

(Line 43.) And he, the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhīrāja Parameśvara, the great devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva), the prosperous Akālavarsadeva Pr̄thvīvallabha, the prosperous Vallabhārendradeva, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhīrāja Parameśvara, the prosperous Amoghavarsadeva,—being well, commands all the people of his country.—

(L. 46.) “Be it known to you that, while staying in the prosperous capital Mānyakhetā, when eight hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, on the fifth Tithi of the dark (half) of Vaiśākha falling in the year Śārvarin, for the

1 Read ब्रह्मा^०.

2 Read °युरुषकं.

3 Read कार्यः ; the upper dot of the Visarga is missing.

4 Instead of this ९ read ।.

5 Read अन्यञ्ज.

enhancement of the holy fame of (my) younger brother, the prosperous Jagattungadeva, who is dearer to me even than (my) life,—

(Verse 29.) "Let this grant of land fulfil the wishes of that Jagattunga who has always surpassed Laksmana in serving (his) eldest brother with incomparable devotion, the god of love by (his) beauty, the well-known lovable son of Dharma (i. e. Yudhishthira) by (his) good deeds, the cool-rayed (moon) by (his) lustre, and the lion by (his) bravery;—

(L. 51.) "With this intention I have given to Risiyappa, who has come from Nandivardhana, belongs to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, is a student of the Vājī-Kāṇva Śākhā, (is) the son of Bhāilla, and is conversant with the Vedas and their subsidiary treatises, the village named Tālapurumāsaka, situated in Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, along with what is set aside, with the appurtenances, with the assessment in grain and gold, with the flaws in measurement and inflictions of fate, with all the produce, up to (its) four previously known boundaries, (and) to be respected (i. e. not to be interfered with) as long as the moon and the sun endure, in the manner of a gift to a Brahman."

(L. 55.) To the east of it (is) the village named [Mādātāḍhīndhara]; to the south the river [Kanhanā] ; to the west the village of [Mohama] ; (and) to the north the village of [Vadhrīra].

(L. 57.) No one should cause obstruction to Risiyapayya while he cultivates Tālapurumāsaka, defined by these four boundaries, causes (it) to be cultivated, enjoys (it) or causes (it) to be enjoyed. And he who causes obstruction will incur the five great sins; for it is said :—

(V. 30.) "He who takes away land that has been given by himself or others, becomes a worm in ordure and is cooked (in hell) together with (his) ancestors."

(V. 31.) "Rāmabhadra again and again entreats all future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue, (which is) common to (all) kings."

(L. 61.) Engraved by Yo[grāsiya], the brother of [Ceļvāna-[nvera].

TWO SETS OF RĀSTRAKŪTA COPPER-PLATES FROM THE NAVASARI DISTRICT.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVIII, 1890-94, pp. 253ff.]

See the Prefatory note at the commencement of the Article on page 293, ante.—N. B. U.

These sets were forwarded to the Society by the Baroda Government and made over to me for transcription and translation. On reading them I found they were the same as those shewn by the Baroda Diwan to Mr. H. H. Dhruva. Mr. Druva published a transcript of them with remarks in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, Vol. XL, but did not give a trsnslation. I have got Mr. Shridhar R. Bhandarkar to prepare one for this paper, and now submit it to the Society.

Each of the plates is 13 inches long and 9 broad. As in the case of the Wardha plates, the first has the Inscription on one side, the second on both, and the third on one. The seal has the figure of Śiva on it. Each of these sets records the grant of a village to a Brahman, made by Indra, the son of Jagattunga and grandson of Kṛṣṇa or Akālavarsa, of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakhēṭa, on the seventh of the bright half of Phālguna, when 836 years of the Śaka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Yuvan. The grantee in B, is a Brahman, of the name of Siddhapabbhāṭṭa, son of Vennapabbhāṭṭa of the Laksmaṇa Gotra, and student of the Mādhyam-dina School of the Vājasaneyā or white Yajurveda; and the village conveyed is Tenna in the Lāṭa country. In A, the grantee's name is Prabhākarabhatta, son of Rāṇapabbhāṭṭa of the same Gotra and Veda as the other, and the village conveyed is Umbarā in the Lāṭa country.

The Rāstrakūṭas belonged, according to this charter also, to the Sātyaki branch of the Yādavas, and the genealogy given in it begins with Dantidurga, the first paramount sovereign of the dynasty. He was succeeded by his uncle Kṛṣṇa. The name of Kṛṣṇa's immediate successor, Govinda II, is omitted, undoubted-

ly because, as stated in the Wardha grant, he was addicted to sensual pleasures and left the government to his brother Nirupama. Nirupama's exploit, given in other grants, is mentioned here also, viz., his having captured the white state umbrella of the king of Kosala and another of a Northern prince. This Northern prince was the king of the Vatsas whose capital was Kauśāmbī, the modern Kosam, near Allahabad.

Dhruva Nirupama was followed by Jagattunga, of whom the only thing said is, that he honoured the Brahmans. His son, who is elsewhere known by the name of Amoghavarsa and Nṛpatunga, is here called Śri-Vallabha. He is represented to have re-established the glory of his family which had been diminished by the Cālukyas, and to have parched or fried the Cālukyas as if they were grains of gram. These Cālukyas must have been the Eastern Cālukyas of Vengi.

His son, who succeeded him, was Kṛṣṇarāja, elsewhere called Akālavarsa and Śubhatunga. Of his fights with the Gūrjara, old men used to say when there were heavy showers and rainbows during the rainy-season, "thus did he in anger draw his bow which was covered over with a network of jewels darting forth rays, and thus did he rain down his arrows." If in 836 Śaka, the date of the grant, it was old men that thus described his wars with the Gūrjara king, those wars must have taken place about twenty-five or thirty years before 836 Śaka. Akālavarsa, we know from other sources, came to the throne about 797 Śaka.

Kṛṣṇarāja had a son of the name of Jagattuṇa who married Lakṣmi, the daughter of Raṇavigraha, son of Kokkalla, king of Cedi. The issue of this marriage was Indrarāja, whose other name was Nityavarsa. He is represented to have meditated on the feet of the glorious Akālavarsa and not on those of his father Jagattunga. As this expression is used with reference to the immediate predecessor on the throne of the reigning king, Indra succeeded his grandfather and not his father. And thus inference is, as we have seen, confirmed by an express statement in the Wardha grant.

Indra residing usually at his capital Mānyakhetā, had, when he made these two grants, gone to Kurundaka for the festival

on account of his Patīabandha, which probably was the coronation festival. On that occasion he weighed himself against gold and gave away twenty lacks and a half of drammas, and granted Kurundaka and other villages, and restored four hundred others, which had been confiscated by previous princes.

The fact that Indra, the reigning sovereign at Mānyakhetā, granted villages in the Lāṭa country, and not a member of the Lāṭa branch of the Rāstrakūṭa family, which was founded in the time of Govinda III, and of which we have several grants, raises the presumption that that branch had ceased to exist or been put an end to before this time. The earliest grant of that branch, known as the Baroda grant, is dated Śaka 734, and was issued by Karka, the son of Indra, who was the first Lāṭa prince or chief.¹ The second is that known as the Kavi grant, which was issued by Govinda, the son of Karka, and is dated Śaka 749.² The third is another Baroda grant, dated Śaka 757, and issued by Dhruvarāja, the son of Karka, the brother of the last Govinda.³ The fourth is that issued by Dhruva, the grandson of this Dhruvarāja, and dated Śaka 789.⁴ The fifth is in my possession. It was issued in the same year as the fourth, by Dantivarman, the brother of Dhruva. Up to the description of Dhruva it agrees almost word for word with the fourth. The sixth was issued in Śaka 810 by Kṛṣṇa or Akālavarsa, who appears to have been a son of Dantivarman.⁵ We have no grant of a later date of any prince of this family; but the next Gujarat Rāstrakūṭa grant is that issued by a vassal of Kṛṣṇa II, or Akālavarsa of the main branch, or by Kṛṣṇa II himself in Śaka 832.⁶ And in the grants before us we have his grandson and successor assigning villages in the same country in the year Śaka 836.

¹ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VIII, pp. 292-303; Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 162.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 196 ff.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 65 ff.

⁶ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 52 ff.

It would thus appear that the province of Lāṭa was resumed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta after 810 Śaka and before 832, i. e., in the time of Kṛṣṇa II or Akālavarṣa. And this is confirmed by what we find stated in the Wardha plates, where Kṛṣṇarāja or Akālavarṣa is represented to have “put an end to the arrogance of the lord of Lāṭa.” And from the grants, No. 4 and No. 5, we see that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Lāṭa were not on terms of peace with their kinsmen of the main branch. One of them, Dhruva, who issued the second Baroda grant of Śaka 757, is represented in those grants to have been killed in a battle with Vallabha, and his son to have recovered his lost kingdom. This Vallabha must have been Amoghavarṣa I, the son of Govinda III.

The village Tenna is identified with Tena which is situated in the Navsari district, and Umbarā may be the modern Bagumbra, with the prefix Bag.

TRANSCRIPT

B

I

ॐ स्वस्ति । स वोव्यादेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दु-
कलया कम-

लंकृतम् ॥ जयति विवुधबन्धुविवन्ध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविव-
लोलत्कौस्तुभः कंस[के]

तुः । मुखसरसिजरड्गे यस्य नृत्यंति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्य-
सारकास्ते कटा-

क्षाः ॥ स जर्यति भुजदण्डसंश्रयर्थाः समरसमुद्भृतदुद्धरारचकः ।
अपहृतबलिम्-

ण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्राजदेवः ॥ अस्ति श्रीनाथना-
भिस्फुरदुरुसरसांभोज-

अन्मा स्वयंभूस्तस्मादत्रिः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द इन्दुस्ततोपि ।
तस्माद्वृशो यदूनां

जगति स ववृथे यत्र तैस्तैविलासैः शाङ्गीं गोपाङ्गनानां नयन-
कुवलये-

रच्यमानश्च चर ॥ तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिंवशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-
तृपतिः

षुरुपोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शंखचक्र-
करलांछ-

नमाजगाम ॥ कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यदेशे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विर्मद्य
व मध्यदेशं ।

यस्यासमस्य समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः काण्ची(ञ्ची) पदे पदमकारि
करेण भूयः ॥ आसेतोः सा-

नुवप्रप्रबलकपिकुलोऽनुकुलश्वडगादकिलासाङ्गवानीचलचरणरण-
त्तूपुरो-

नादितन्तात् । यस्याङ्गां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मालिमालाय-
मानामानव्रैस्-

तमाङ्गरवनितलकुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥ जित्वा जगन्निजयुजेन
पुनर्जिजग्निः स्वर्गं

विजेतुमिव तस्य गतस्य राशः ॥ तत्राभवत्परमधार्मिन पदे पितृव्यः
श्राकृष्णराजनृप-

तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ दिव्युन्दर्दर्शवदनचान्दनपत्रभङ्गलीलायमान-
घनविस्तृतकान्तकी-

II.--First side.

तेः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूलशेलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मादभूत्रिषुपमो निरवद्य-
शौर्यः ॥ कांत्तेः(तेः) कु-

न्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भं सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विला-
सकमलं पूर्णे-

न्दुविष्वद्युति । एकं कंपितकोसलेश्वरकरादादिन्नमन्यत्पुनर्योदा-
न्यनराधिपाद्य-

श इव श्रेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ तस्माक्षिभे जगत्तुङ्गो नन्म तन्मानितद्विजः ॥
सापि श्रीवद्व-

भं नूनु राजराजमंजाजनत् ॥ निमग्नां यश्चलुक्याद्यां रष्टराज्यश्रियं
पुनः । पृथ्वीमवोद्धर-

न्धारो वरनारायणोभवन् ॥ समूलोन्मूलितस्तस्वान्दण्डेनानीतक-
ण्टकः । योदहद्वद्वद्वे-

पिणश्चण्डचलुच्यांश्चणकानव ॥ उच्चश्चलुक्यकुलकन्दलकालकेतो-
स्तस्मादकु

एवरितोजनि कृष्णराजः। पीतापि कण्ठपुटकेरसकृज्जनेन कार्त्तिः
परि-

अमति यस्य शशाङ्कान्तिः ॥ उद्दीपितिरत्नजालजाटिलं व्या-
कृष्मी-

द्रुग्धनुः कुद्रेनोपरि वैरीरशीरत्सेवं दिग्गुकाः शराः । धाराजा-
रिणि सन्दचापव-

लये यस्येत्थमद्वागमे गज्जद्वृज्जरसंगरव्यातिकरं जाणगो जनः
शन्श(शंस)ति ॥ अ-

जनि जनितभंगो वैरिबुन्दस्य तस्मादवरितमदन्त्राः श्रीजगतुं
गदेवः । श्वजसर-

सिजशंखप्रोहसच्चकपाणिच्छिभवविजितचिष्णुवृद्धभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥
आसत्कोप्यथ

हहयान्वयभवो भूपः सहजार्जुनो गज्जद्वृज्जरशवगोऽजनलसहो-
ईण्डकण्डह-

रः । विश्रान्तैः श्रवगेषु नाकसदसां यत्कार्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः
सान्दसुधारसेन लिखि-

तैव्यासाः ककुभितयः ॥ वंशे तस्य स्पन्नवंशपरशाः कोकलभू-
पात्मजो राजा श्री-

II.—Second side.

रणविग्रहस्तमभवचेदीश्वरः कार्त्तिमान् । यस्यरातिपुरनिमण्ड-
नमुषः रा(स)व्वापि पृथ्वीप

तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयत्निः विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ सकल-
गुणगणाढधेच्चिष्णु(स्फु)रद्वाम-

धान्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमु-
देन्दुः सुन्दराचित्तहारी

हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगतुङ्गदेवः ॥ चतुरुदधितटान्तद्यातशौ-
र्योथ ताभ्यामभव-

दरिवरद्वे रहकन्दप्पेदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां
सकलजनशरण्यः पु-

ण्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ देवो यश्वतुरम्बुराशिरशनरोचिष्णुचिश्वम्भ-
रामाकामन्निजविकमेण स-

मभूत् श्रीकीर्त्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदोयमाकुलधयां जगनुः
समं विद्विषां

दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं भौलयः ॥ कृतगीवर्द्धे-
नोद्धारं हेलो-

न्मूलितमेसुणा । उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥
सकलजनम् (न)मस्यः

सोथ कृत्वा नमस्यान्मुक्तवपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान(न्) । उपरि
परशुरामस्यैक-

कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिष्णस्त्यागकीर्त्या बभूव ॥ स च परमभद्रा-
रकमहाराजाधिराज-

परमेश्वरश्रीमद्कालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभद्रारकमहाराजाधिरा-
जपरमेश्वर-

श्रीमन्तिवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव यथासंबध्यमानकान्नास्त्र-
पतिविषयपतिग्राम-

कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहतरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदि-
तं यथा श्रीमान्य-

खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवाय कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया
मातापित्रोरात्म-

नर्थेहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्य-
निदनसब्रह्मचा-

III.

रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गतश्रीवेन्नपभद्रसुताय सिद्धपभद्राय लाटदे-
शान्तर्गतकम्मणिज्ज-

मर्माणे तेज्ञनामग्रामः यस्य पूर्वतो वारडपल्लिका दक्षिणतो नाम्भी-
तटाकं पश्चिमतो वली-

शा उत्तरतो वथियणग्रामः एवमाघाटचतुष्योपलक्षितस्सोइंगः
सपरिकरः सदण्ड-

दशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानविश्विकः सधान्यहिरण्य[द]योभ्यन्तरसि-
द्धया शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सर-

शतेष्वष्टामुष्ट्रित्रिशुद्धतेरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्नुनशुद्धसमृद्धां संपद्ये
श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्स-

वे तुलापुरुषमारुत्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामाग-
न्यान्यपि पूर्वपृथ्वीपालवि-

लुमानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्व्यमलक्ष्मसार्देः सह वेमुच्य
बलिचरुवंशदेवाभि-

होत्रातिथिसंतर्पणार्थमयोद्योक्तातिसर्वेण दत्तोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदाय-
 स्थित्या
 मुख्तो भोजयतः कृष्टः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केन-
 चिदल्पपि परि-
 यन्थना कार्या तथागमिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वैरन्येव्वा सामान्ये
 भूमिदानफल-
 मवैत्थ स्वदायनिर्विवसे(शे)षोयमस्मद्वैदायोनुमन्तव्यः यश्चाज्ञाना-
 लोपयति स पंचभिर्मर्महा-
 पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्ठिं वर्षसहस्राणि
 स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छे-
 ता चानुभूता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ अग्रेषपत्यं प[प्र]थमं
 सुवर्णं भूबैष्णवी सूर्यमुताश्च गा-
 वः स्तौकत्रयं तेन भवेद्द्विं दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥
 सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नुपाणां
 कालेकाले पालनीयो भर्वाद्वः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्नान्
 भूयोऽभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
 श्रीग्रीविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्तेय-
 मिन्द्रराजांग्रिसेविना ॥ श्रीः

A.

I.

स्वस्ति । स वोन्याद्वेधसा धाम यत्राभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
 कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलं कृतम् ॥ जयति
 विकृधवन्धुविव्विध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोलतकौस्तुभः ।
 मुखसरसिजरद्दणो यस्य नृ-
 त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ स जयति
 भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समर-
 समुद्धृतदुर्धरारिचक्रः । अपहतबलिमण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र
 इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥
 अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभिस्फुरदुरसरसाम्भोजजन्मा स्वयंभू । स्तस्मादश्रीः
 मुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्प-

न्द इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्रंशो यदूनां जगति स वृथे यस्य तैस्ते-
विलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानान्ना(नां न)
यनकुवलयेच्यमानवचार ॥ तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा
श्रीदन्तिदुर्गंनृप-
तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्य
दंखचक्रलक्ष्मी-
माजगाम ॥ कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारि जघन्यभागे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विमयं
च मध्यदे-
शं । यस्यासमस्य [स]मरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः कांचीपदे पदमकारि करेण
भूयः ॥ आसेतोः सानुव-
प्रप्रबलकणिकुलोल्लनफुल्लवडादकैलासाद्वानीचलचरण-
न्नपुरोन्नादितान्तात् ।
यस्याक्षां भूमिपलाः करमुकुलभिलन्मौलिमालायमानामानैरुत्त-
माङ्गरवनितललुठजा-
नवो मानयन्ति ॥ जित्वा जगत्तिजभुजेन पुनर्जिजगीषोः स्त्रिर्गं विजेतु-
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तत्रा-
भवत्परमधात्रि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ।
दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-
भंगलीलायमानवनविस्तृतकान्तकार्त्तेः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूलशैलमल-
करिणोस्तस्माद्भू-
न्निरपमो निरवद्यशोर्यः । कीर्त्तेः कुन्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थान-
कुंभः सितो लक्ष्म्याः

III.—first side.

लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णेन्दुविम्बद्युति । एकं कंपित-
कोसलेश्वरकरादाच्छव्यमन्यत्पु-
नयेनोदीच्यनराधिपायथ इव श्रेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ तस्माल्लेभे जग-
त्तुंगो जन्म सम्मानि-
तद्विजः । सापि श्रीवल्लभं सूनुं राजराजमजीजनन् ॥ निमग्रां यश्च-
लुक्याच्चौ रद्वराज्यथि-
यं पुनः । पृथ्वीमिवोद्धरन्धीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ समूलोन्मूलि-
तस्तम्भान्दणेनार्ना-
तकण्ठकः । योद्दहद्रेद्देषि गश्चण्डनलुक्यांश्चणकानिव ॥ उच्चेश्च-
लुक्यकुलकन्दलकालके-

तोस्तस्मादकृष्णचरितोजनि कृष्णराजः । पांतापि कृष्णपुटकैरसक्-
 उजनेन कीर्तिः परिभ्र-
 मर्ति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ उद्यद्वाधितरत्नजालजार्टिलं व्याकृष्टमा-
 दृग्घनुः । कुद्धेनोप-
 रि वैरिवरिशरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिण सेन्द्रचाप-
 वलये यस्ये-
 त्थमद्वद्गमे गज्जडुज्जंरसङ्गरव्यतिकरं जीणों जनः शन्स (शंस)
 ति ॥ अजनि जनि-
 तभद्वगो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनर्थाः श्राजगुत्तुंगदेवः । अवज-
 सरसि-
 जशंखप्रोलतचकपणिविभवीवजितविष्णुवीक्ष्मभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥
 आसात्कोप्य-
 थ हृहयान्वयभवो भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गज्जडुज्जयरावणोजितलसद्वा-
 द्विष्ठकण्डु-
 हरः । विग्रान्तः श्रवणेनु नाकसद तां यत्कार्तिनामाक्षरः सिद्धः
 सान्द्रमुधारसेन लि-
 खितव्यामाः ककुविभत्तयः ॥ वंशे तस्य सप्तनवंशपरशोः कोक्ष्म-
 भूपात्मजो गजा श्रार-
 णविग्रहः समभवचेद्विवरःकीर्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरंभ्रिमण्डनमुषः
 सर्वोपि पृथ्वीप-
 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरव प्रयाति विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ सकलगु-
 णगणाच्चर्विष्फु(स्फु)रद्वा-
 मधाम्रः कलितकमलपणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदे-
 न्दुः सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

II.—Second side.

हरिरिव परिणन्ये तां जगत्तुंगदेवः ॥ चतुरुद्धितटान्तल्यातशार्योथ
 ताभ्यामभवद्विर-
 घरट्टो रट्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतानिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सक-
 लजनशरण्यः पु-
 ण्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ मदनममृतविन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोथ विष्वं नव-
 नलिनमृणालं चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां
 च । अपरमपि यदार्थ्यज्ञन्सनिर्माणशेषैरणुभिरिव चकार स्फष्टमाननिद-
 वेधाः ॥ देवो

यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरमाकामान्त्रिजविक्रमेय सम्भूत्

श्रीकीर्तिनारा-

यणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं विद्विषां दैस्यं
वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भ-

यं सेवांजलि मौलयः ॥ कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा ।
उपेन्द्र-

मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मतम् ॥ सकलजननमस्यः सोऽथ
कृत्वा नमस्या-

न्मुववप्तिरेनकान्देवभोगमग्रहारान् । उपर्य परशुरामस्त्यैककुशमदान-
स्फुरितगुणगरिमणस्त्यागकात्या वभूव । स च परमभद्रारकमहारा-
जाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

रश्रीमदकालवर्षेदेवपादानुष्यातपरमभद्रारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर
श्रीपृथ्वीवलभश्रीवलभश्रीमनित्यवर्षनेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वादेवः यथा-
संबध्य-

मानान् राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्-
रादा-

न्त्रमादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखटराजधारीभिवेशिना
श्रीप-

द्वन्धाय कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चहिकामुष्मिक-
पुण्य-

III

यशोभितुद्येये । लक्षणगोत्राय वर्जिमाध्यन्दिनसब्दाचारिणे
राणपभृत्सुताय

प्रभाकरभद्राय लाटेदशान्तर्गतकमणिजसमापे उम्बरा नाम ग्रामः
यस्य पू-

वृत तोलजकं दक्षिणतो मोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकाग्राम उत्तरतो
जवलकूपकमे-

वमगधाटन्तुष्टयोपलक्षितः सोद्रंगः सपरिकरः सदर्ढदशापराधः
सोत्पद्यमान-

विष्टिकः सधान्याहिरण्यदेयोन्यन्तरसिद्धया पूर्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहितः
शकनृपकाला-

तीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टामु षट्ट्रिशादुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफालगुनशुद्ध-
सप्तमां संपत्त-

श्रीपद्मनधोत्सवे तुलापुरुषमारुद्य तस्मादनुत्तरतः च कुमन्दकादा-

न्यामान्

अन्यान्यपि पूर्वेग्रुध्वापालविलुपानि चत्वारं ग्रामशतानि विश्वात-

द्रम्मलक्ष्मस्सा-

द्वे: सह विप्रेभ्यो विमुच्य बलिचरुवश्वेवामहोत्रात्तथसंतप्तगा-
र्थमा(म)-

योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थत्या युजनां भाजयतः
कृष्टः

कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदरूपार्पणं पार्गपंथना कायो
तथागामिभिरस्म-

द्वेर्यरन्यव्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषेयम-
स्मद्ब्रह्मदायोनुमन्त-

व्यः यथाज्ञानादोपयति स पंचभिमंहापातकैः संयुक्तः रथः दुक्तं
च भगवता व्यासेन ॥

षष्ठि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वगर्भे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ सा-

मान्योयं धर्मसेतुरूपाणां काले काले पालनायो भवद्विः । सध्वाने-
तान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्

भूयोभूयो यच्चते रामभद्रः ॥ श्रांत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादियग्ने
मूनुना । कृता प्रशस्तेयं श्रीः

TRANSLATION.

B.

May he (Viṣṇu) protect you, the lotus springing from whose navel was made his abode by Brahman, and [may] Hara too [do the same] whose head is adorned by the beautiful crescent of the moon. Victorious is he who has Kāma for his banner (i. e., is noted for his destruction of Kāma) [Kṛṣṇa], the friend of the gods, on whose chest, broad as the Vindhya [mountain], dangles the pure Kaustubha, and on whose lotus-like face, the stage, dance the sidelong glances of Laksīni with the pupils dulled from the weight of love. Ever victorious is the Upendra-like Indrarāja-deva, the Nr̥siṅha (the lion among men; Viṣṇu in one of his incarnations), in whose strong arms rests Lakṣmī, who has rooted

out in battles the circle of enemies difficult to withstand, and who has done away with the Balimandala (the array of the mighty ; Bali and his circle). The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the expansive fresh lotus springing from the navel of the Lord of Laks̄mi. Of him was born the son Atri, and of Atri again [was born] the moon, who sends forth nectared rays, and out of him grew on the earth the dynasty of the Yādus, in which [at one time] moved Kṛṣṇa who was worshipped by the cowherds' wives with the lotuses, their eyes, accompanied with various blandishments. To that family belonged the Purusottama (the best of men ; Viṣṇu), King Dantidurga, born in the wide Sātyaki branch, to whom of herself came Laks̄mi from the ocean of the Cālukya family, marked as his hands were with a conch and a disc (two of the things by the possession of which Viṣṇu is marked ; auspicious marks on the palms of hands resembling these objects) ; whose hand, matchless in battle that he was, having first established itself on the beautiful Jaghanyadeśa (the region of the hips ; lowermost country) of his wife, the earth, and again pressed down tenderly at its will the Madhyadeśa (waist ; the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya Mountains), again established itself on the Kāñcipada (the region below the waist where the girdle is worn ; province of Kāñci) ; whose orders all the kings obeyed with bowed heads and with knees bent to the ground, from the Setu (bridge), the blossoming Lavanga trees on the grounds on the summit of which are deflowered by host of big monkeys, up to Kailāsa, the regions of which are noisy from the sounding Nūpuras on the moving feet of Bhavāni, the orders forming the wreath on their heads with which come in contact their joined hands. When the king, after having conquered the world by means of his arm, had gone to heaven, as if to conquer it, being desirous for a fresh victory, his paternal uncle, king Kṛṣṇarāja, of well-known prowess, filled his resplendent throne. Of him, whose thick, wide and brilliant fame looked on the faces of the quarters, the women, like sandal-wood decorations, and who adorned the mountain, the family of the Rāstrakūṭas, was born Nirupama of spotless valour, who in battle snatched away from the hand of the trembling lord of the Kosalas, one white umbrella (of royalty), which was glory itself as it were ; which was the

white auspicious pot for the starting of his fame, white as the Kunda flower, on a journey to all the worlds ; which was the sporting lotus in the hands of Laks̄mi, and had the beauty of the full-moon ; and another from a king of the Northern People. Of him had birth Jagattunga, who honoured the Brahmans, and he in his turn had for his son Śrivallabha, the king of kings, who, the wise one, while raising again the glory of the Rāṭha kingdom, which had been drowned in the Cālukya ocean, appeared like Viranārāyana raising the earth ; who parched up (or fried) like gram his enemies, the fiery Cālukyas, having plucked out their stalks from the roots and having threshed out by means of Danda (a stick ; punishment) the Kantakas (thorny substance ; obnoxious persons). Of him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain-tree, the high family of the Cālukyas, was born Kṛṣṇarāja of unspotted life, whose fame, white as the moon, ranges over the world, though constantly drunk by people by means of the cavities of their ears ; the occurrence of whose thundering fights which the Gūrjjara old men describe on the arrival of the rainy season of heavy showers and rain-bows by saying, "Thus did he in anger draw his bow, which was covered over with a network of jewels darting forth rays, thus did he rain down his arrows on the heads of his warrior enemies." Of him was born Jagattungadeva, who broke up the host of his enemies, who brought low the beauty of Madana, who has on (the palm of) his hand a discus shining in the midst of a banner, a lotus and a conch, who by his greatness surpassed Viṣṇu, and who was the beloved of the soldierly Laks̄mi. There was a king (by name) Sahasrārjuna, born in the Haihaya family, who quieted the itching of the powerful and throbbing arms of the thundering and unconquerable Rāvana, and by writing with thick nectar the letters setting forth whose name and fame, which found a resting-place in the ears of the gods, the walls in the shape of the quarters were filled up by the Siddhas. In the family of him, who was a hatchet to the families of his enemies, there was the famous king Śrirāṇavīgraḥa, the son of king Kokkalla and lord of Cedi, into the Mandala (the circle of feudatory princes) of whom, thief as he was of the decorations of his enemies' wives, entered every Vikala (ruined) lord of the earth on the occurrence of his Paks̄akṣaya (ruin of his

followers) as the Vikala (waned) moon enters the Mandala (disc) of the sun on the occasion of his Paksaksaya (the end of the [bright] fortnight). He, who was an ocean of the whole collection of virtues and was the dwelling place of brilliant lustre, had a daughter, Lakṣmi, who was Kalitakamalapāṇi (having lotus-like hands; having a lotus in her hands). Jagattungadeva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race and the ravisher of the hearts of women, married her like Hari himself. From them sprang Raṭṭakandarpadeva (the lord who was the cupid of the family of the Raṭṭas), whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was the grinding-stone to his enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, and who was a refuge to all men and a store of heavenly beauty; the lord, who overrunning by his valour the earth, beautified by its girdle, the four oceans, became Viranārāyaṇa, and on hearing of whose birth the beauty of the faces of his distressed enemies came by pallor, their minds by fear, and their heads by their joined hands (indicative) of servitude, all at the same time; who, the Indrarāja, rooting out Meru with ease, was not surprised at his (thus) surprising Upendra (Viṣṇu) who lifted Govardhana. Worthy of the homage of all men, the lord of the world, by making numerous grants to gods and Brahmans, which were to be respected (by all), surpassed, by the fame of his charity, Paraśurāma, who owed the (fame of the) greatness of his virtues (charity) to his gift of one wretched village. That lord of the kings of men, the glorious Nityavarsa, the highest lord, the king of great kings, the highest ruler, meditating on the feet of the glorious Akālavarsa, the highest lord, the king of great kings and the highest ruler, commands, being in the enjoyment of good health, all governors of districts and subdivisions, the heads of villages, the employés and holders of offices, great men, &c., so far as they are concerned with these orders: Be it known to you that I, who live in my capital Mānyakhetā, and have come at present to Kurundaka for the festive occasion of my coronation (?), have, on the completion of the coronation ceremony, after weighing myself against gold, and without coming down from the pan, given away, together with 20 lakhs and a half of drammis, Kurundaka and other villages and 400 villages besides, confiscated by previous kings, given away by pouring

water, for the enhancement of the religious merits and fame in this world and the next of my parents and myself, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, in the year Yuvan, when 836 years have passed after the time of the Śaka king, the village called Tenna, in the vicinity of Kammanijja, in the country of Lāṭa, to Siddhapabhaṭṭa, the son of Vennapabhaṭṭa and inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra, a student of the Vājasaneyi Mādhyamīna Śākhā, of the Gotra of Lakṣmaṇa; to the east of which (village) lies Vāradāpallikā, to the south the lake Nāmbhi, to the west Valisā, and to the north the village of Vathiyāṇa, that he might by its means perform the rites of Bali, Caru, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra and hospitality—this village which is thus marked off by these four boundaries, with whatever stands on the land, and with appurtenances, with the flaws in the measurement and the mis-haps, with whatever might be raised on the land by labour, and the revenue in grain and gold. Therefore, no one should in the slightest degree obstruct him while enjoying and allowing others to enjoy this in the manner of a Brahman-gift, while cultivating or allowing others to cultivate it or conveying it to anybody else. In the same manner the good kings of the future, whether of my family or of any other, bearing in mind that the fruit of the gift of land is common (to all kings), should respect this gift of mine exactly as they would their own. He who through ignorance takes it away incurs the five great sins. Indeed, the blessed Vyāsa says : “The grantor of land dwells in Heaven for sixty thousand years ; while he who resumes it, or approves of its being so resumed dwells in hell for as many years. Gold is the first child of Agni (fire), land is Visnu’s, and cows are the daughters of the Sun ; he who gives gold, a cow and land makes a gift of the three worlds.” “This bridge of religious merits (viz., making gifts of land) common to kings should at all times be respected by you.” So prays Rāmabhadrā again and again to all the great kings of the future. This praiseworthy charter was composed by Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nemāditya, the servant of the feet of Indrarāja.

A

Portions additional to, or differing from, B.

II b, lines 3-4. मदनमस्तूः With the insignificant remnants of the materials of whose creation, did Brahmā verily create other delightful things, viz., Madana, the disc of the Moon dropping drops of nectar, the young lotus-stalk, sandal-wood and moonlight.

II b, line 12. श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभ. The beloved one of the Earth and of Lakṣmī.

III b, lines 1-3. लक्ष्मणगोत्राय &c. The village called Umbarā in the vicinity of Kammanija in the country of Lāṭa, to Prabhākarabhaṭṭa, the son of Rāṇapabhaṭṭa, and a student of the Vājasaneyi Mādhyamīḍina Śākhā, of the Gotra Lakṣmana; to the east of which (village) lies Tolajaka, to the south Mogalikā, to the west, the village of Samki, and to the north the Javala well.

III, line 5. पूर्वदेवत्राप्तिरहितः excluding the previous gifts to gods and Brahmans.

A. Om. लोकत्रयं—दद्यात्.

A. Om. शस्ता and इन्द्रगाजांप्रिसेविना.



THE RĀSTRAKŪTA KING KRŚNARĀJA I. AND ELĀPURA.

[From the Indian Antiquary, 1883, Volume XII, pages 228ff.]

While preparing a paper on the Early History of the Deccan for the Bombay Gazetteer, I had to give an account of Krśnarāja, an early Rāstrakūta monarch and successor of Dantidurga, and in this connection had to examine the Baroda copper-plate Inscription published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VIII, pp. 292ff. It struck me that an important passage relating to this king had been misunderstood by the translator, and I found that Dr. Bühler and Mr. Fleet, when they had occasion to write about Krśnarāja accepted this translation, and spoke of Krśnarāja as having built a fort on the hill at Elāpura. Dr. Bühler thought one of the stanzas was badly deciphered or was corrupt, and made out that a temple of Śiva was constructed in addition to a hill fort; but he did not identify Elāpura.¹ Mr. Fleet expressed his opinion that Elāpura was the same as Yellapur in North Canara.² And now, in the Indian Antiquary, Volume XII, pages 156ff, Mr. Fleet has given a revised transcript and translation of the Inscription, together with a facsimile. But I am sorry to observe his translation of the passage in question is still unsatisfactory. As the point involved is important, I take the liberty of discussing the sense of the passage, and feel little doubt that a scholar like Mr. Fleet will himself acknowledge the appropriateness of the translation I have to give. The two stanzas are :—

एलापुराचलगताद्वृतसन्निवेशं
यद्वीक्ष्य विस्मितावमनचरमग्रन्थाः ।
एतस्व(त्स्व)यम्भु शिवधाम न रुच्रिमे श्री-
दृष्टेदृशीनि सन्तं बहु चर्चयन्ति ॥
भूयस्तथाविधरुतो व्यवसायहाने-
गेतन्मया कथमङ्गे रुत्तमत्यकरमात् ।
कर्त्ताप यस्य खलु विस्मयमाप शिल्पी
तन्नाम कीर्तनमकार्यत येन गङ्गा ॥

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 61.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 124.

Mr. Fleet corrects the श्रियं of his facsimile to श्रिम् in line 2. But the original is appropriate, and the emendation will not do.

Mr. Fleet translates the passage thus :—“ Having seen his wonderful encampment situated on the mountain of Elāpura, the astonished immortals, who travel in celestial cars, always take much thought, saying :—‘ This is the abode of Svayambhu-Siva, and no artificially made (dwelling) ; Śrī, (if she could be) seen, (would be) such as this.’ Verily even the architect who built it felt astonishment, saying :—‘ (The utmost) perseverance would fail to accomplish such a work again ; aho ! how has it been achieved by me ! ’ ; (and), by reason of it, the king was caused to praise his name.”

The evident objections against this translation are :—1st. Mr. Fleet takes एता—संनिवेशम् as a Karmadhāraya compound, and a substantive noun, not an adjective. But in that case its gender ought to be masculine, since संनिवेश is a masc. noun ; but it is not so here, because यत् which is neuter, qualifies it. यत् ought to be यम् if the compound is a Karmadhāraya and a substantive.

2. There must be a नत् to answer to this यत्, but where this नत् is, does not clearly appear from the translation. Mr. Fleet perhaps takes यत् to refer to king Kṛṣṇa, but in that case it ought to be यस्य, and then only can it be connected with the compound एता—संनिवेशम्.

3. Svayambhu-Siva is taken as a compound ; but Svayambhu as an adjective of Siva or as a crude ought to have the ending vowel long, while it is short here ; and the metre does require a short vowel.

4. There is no reason why श्रियं should be regarded as a mistake for श्रिम्.

5. When a noun and an adjective are put together, the copula only can be understood between them and not verbs of the potential or conditional mood. Mr. Fleet, however, understands ‘ would be ’ after Śrī, and ‘ if she could be ’ in connection with इष्टा.

6. Mr. Fleet translates यत् as “ by reason of it.” “ Of what ? ” I would ask. Certainly not, “ of his being struck with astonishment,” which is what precedes.

7. What could have led the author of the verses to compare "an encampment" with a temple of Śiva? Such a comparison is inappropriate as there is no resemblance.

8. Why should an abode of Śiva be contrasted with an artificially made dwelling; in other words, what is the necessity of denying this attribute of a temple of Śiva?

According to my way of taking it the two stanzas form one sentence. The principal clause is येन गङ्गा कीर्तिनमकार्यत् and the rest are attributive adjuncts of कीर्तिन्. The word कीर्तिन् has been understood in its usual and etymological sense by Mr. Fleet and the first translator; that sense is not at all appropriate here and the word must be taken to signify "a temple." Though the dictionaries do not give this sense, there is no question the word does denote a "temple." Thus in Mr. Telang's Śilāhāra grant, we have

सं(श)भोयो द्वादसा(शा)पि व्यरचयदचिरात्कीर्तिनामि(नि).

"Who verily constructed in a short time twelve temples of Śiva."¹ (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 34, ll. 1-2.) The word occurs in other Inscriptions also where it must be interpreted as "a temple."

In the Agni Purāna we have in the Chapter 'on the Construction of Temples,'—

तस्माद्वित्तं समासाद्य देवाद्वा पौरुषादध ।
दयात्सम्याद्विजाद्येभ्यः कीर्तिनानि च कारयेत् ॥

(Ed. Bib. Ind., Vol. I, p. 111.)

"Therefore having got wealth by luck or by exertion, one should give it in the proper way to the best among the twice-born and cause temples to be constructed."

Similarly in Bāṇa's Kādambarī, in the description of the victorious march of a prince, we have—

आदिशन्देशव्यवस्थाः स्थापयन्स्वचिन्हानि कुर्वन्कीर्तिनानि लेसयत् शासनानि.....
पृथिवीं विचरात् ।

¹ This reference I owe to Mr. Telang himself.

" He traversed the earth, dictating arrangements for the government of countries, placing his memorials, constructing temples, causing grants to be written, &c. "

In Someśvara's Kirtikaumudī we have

महतां विद्यमानानां वित्तेनोपकरोति यः ।
स्वगंतानां जगत्पूर्तकीर्तनोद्ग्रषेन तु ॥

This occurs in the description of Vastupāla in the fourth canto. The sense is, "[That Vastupāla] who does good to the great who are living by means of wealth, and to those who are dead by the restoration of dilapidated works of public utility (such as tanks, wells &c.) and temples." ¹

The words in the two stanzas before us are to be thus syntactically connected :—

यद् एलापुराचलगताद्गुरसंनिवेशम् [कीर्तनम्] वीक्ष्य विस्मितविमानचरामरेन्द्राः "एतद् शिवधाम स्वर्यभु, इन्द्रशी थ्रीः कृत्रिमे न दृष्टा " इति सततम् बहु चर्चयन्ति; यस्य [कीर्तनस्य] कर्ता भिल्पी अषि स्तु भूयस्तथाविधरुतो व्यवसायहनेः "अहो कथम् एतद् मया रूपम् " इति अकस्मात् विस्मयम् आप तद् नाम कीर्तनम् येन गजा अकार्यत.

Here येन गजा is, like यो and यस्मिन् in the preceding sentences and येन in the following, to be connected with कृष्णगजः जंज्ञा in the first sentence in which the description of this king begins. It is usual in Sanskrit literature when a description is given, to introduce each sentence by the relative pronoun and make it an attributive adjunct of the subject in the principal sentence, i. e., the thing or person described. A close translation of this is :—

" [That king] by whom, verily, was caused to be constructed a temple on the hill at Elāpura, of a wonderful structure,—on seeing which the best of immortals who move in celestial cars, struck with astonishment, think much constantly, saying, ' This temple of Siva is self-existent; in a thing made by art such beauty is not seen,'—a temple, the architect-builder of which, in consequence of the failure of his energy as regards [the construction of] another such work, was himself suddenly struck with astonishment, saying, ' Oh, how was it that I built it ! ' "

¹ My attention was called to this passage by Prof. Abaji V. Kathavate, of Ahmedabad, who has been editing the Kirtikaumudī for the Bombay Sanskrit Series.

एला-संनिश्चशम् is to be taken as a Bahuvrihi qualifying कीर्तनम् understood; एऽ is an indeclinable adverb meaning "verily;" स्वयम् has its final vowel shortened because it qualifies the neuter noun Śivadhāma.

In this passage therefore, Kṛṣṇarāja is represented to have caused to be constructed on the hill at Elāpura, a temple of Śiva of extraordinary beauty, and in the next stanza, the idol is spoken of as having been decorated by the king with rubies, gold, and all other precious things. Here, too, Mr. Fleet translates Yena by "by means of it," but it ought, as in the preceding sentence, to be rendered as "by whom," i. e., by the king.

Now, when the ending pura of names of places undergoes a change in the vernaculars, it becomes ura, and in rare cases ora. Thus we have Chittur for Chitrapura, Indor for Indrapura, Sirur for Śripura, Siṁhur for Simhapura, Nandur or Nandor for Nandipura, Bishnur for Visnupura, Mysore for Mahisapura, Teur (often spelt Tevur) for Tripura, &c. Thus then Elāpura should become Elur, and with the termination ka which is the Sanskrit original of the vernacular ending ā, we have Elurā.

It is, therefore, a temple of extraordinary beauty on the hill at Elurā that Kṛṣṇarāja, in these two stanzas is said to have caused to be constructed; very likely it was the Kailāsa itself, since it is spoken of with such admiration.

The date of the grant in which Dantidurga is represented to have conquered the Cālukyas and become paramount sovereign is Śaka 675, and Kṛṣṇarāja is, in the Radhanapur grant also, spoken of as having wrested the supreme sovereignty from the Cālukyas. It therefore appears that Dantidurga died without completing his work, i. e., soon after Śaka 675, since his successor had to continue it. Kṛṣṇarāja, therefore, reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Saka era, i. e., between 753 and 778 A. D.

A KALACURI COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM THE BELGAUM DISTRICT.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVIII, 1890-94, pp. 269ff.]

See the Prefatory remark at the commencement of the Article on page 293, ante, and also page 318, ante.—N. B. U.

The (next) set of three copper-plates, a transcript and translation of which I place before the Society, was put into my hands to be used for historical purposes by my friend Mr. D. R. Natu, LL. B., who is a pleader in the District Court at Belgaum. It was in the possession of the Desai of Kokahnur, a large village about 12 miles to the south-east of Athni, which is a Taluka station in the Belgaum District.

Each of the plates is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and about 9 inches in breadth. The lines are engraved breadth-wise and we have the Inscription on one side of the first plate, both sides of the second, and one side of the third. The seal has the figure of a bull. The nasals in the body of a word are uniformly marked by an Anusvāra, as we do at the present day, and ए always appears in the form of औ. The Sanskrit of the grant is excellent, including the prose portions, and the poetry is full of very extravagant conceits, which mark a further progress in the degeneration of taste. The name of the composer was Ādityadeva, pupil of Śripāda, who calls himself "the paramount sovereign of the three worlds in matters of learning."

The Inscription records the grant of land measuring four Nivartanas¹ to each of fourteen Brahmans, and a rice-field measuring one Nivartana, and a flower-garden of an equal area, to the god Someśvara for purposes of daily worship, in the village of

1 Nivartana is defined as equal to 30 Daṇḍas or poles. But a pole is taken to be equal to 10 cubits or 7 cubits. The Daṇḍa in this grant is called Māḍadanda, and probably had its own measure.

Battaci in the Kanamvade country by Soma, the son of Vijjana of the Kalacuri dynasty of Kalyāṇa. The grant was made on Thursday, the 12th of the bright half of Kārttika, in the year 1096 of the Śaka era, corresponding to 1174 A. D., the cyclic year being Jaya. Here I find, instead of the usual expression, "years elapsed since the time of the Śaka king" or "the era of the Śaka king," occurring in the earlier grants, simply "in Śaka 1096," which shows that the word Śaka had, about the end of the eleventh century of that era, lost its original signification of "a particular race of foreigners" and come to signify an era generally.

"The Kalacuri family is," it is stated, "famous in the three worlds as a mine of Kṣatriya jewels." That it was one of the leading royal families of the Middle Ages is undoubted. The kings of Cedi, with whom the later Rāstrakūṭa princes of the Deccan were connected by marriage, belonged to it. Their capital was Tripura the modern Tevur, near Jabalpur, and they held a strong fortress named Kālañjara.

The branch to which Soma belonged appears to have been very unimportant. The first person mentioned in the grant before us is Kṛṣṇa. He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and he by his son Paramardin. Paramardin's son was Vijjana, who raised the family to importance. All these chiefs must have been dependents of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa.

Vijjana had attained to the position of Dandanāyaka or of Minister of War under Tailapa II, and while he held that office, he rebelled against his master and assumed supreme sovereignty. He is represented in the grant before us to have fought with the Pāṇḍya, the Cola, the Vanga, and the Mālava.

Vijjana was succeeded by his son Soma, upon whom the grant bestows the most extravagant and bombastic praise, making him out to be a paragon of all human and soldierly virtues, and as the wisest and most powerful sovereign. But herein we see the anxiety of the composer to show off his own "paramount sovereignty in the domain of learning," to which he laid a claim, and to please the reigning monarch, and not his desire to pourtray the truth. And there is not a single particular fact mentioned in the whole

passage. But from every indication, it appears that the Kalacuri princes of Kalyāna were never able to consolidate their power; they had not succeeded even in completely dispossessing their masters who still held sway over a part of the country; and the dynasty after a troublous and precarious existence for about 25 years became extinct.

There is a village of the name of Badachi, in the vicinity of Athni, about four miles to the north-west of Kokahnur, which in all likelihood is the Battaci of our grant. About 24 miles to the north-west of Athni, is a village of the name of Kanavadi, with a population of nearly 3,000 persons, which closely corresponds to the Kanamvade of our grant, and possessed probably in those days sufficient importance to give its name to the country or province.¹

A grant, dated 1105 Śaka, by another or the last prince of this dynasty, Singhadeva, the brother of our Soma, was brought to notice by Dr. Fleet in 1875, and published in the Indian Antiquary. The composer of it is the same person as that of ours. The first verse in it does not occur in the present grant; but the next eleven stanzas are exactly the same and occupy the whole of our first plate. Then omitting a further eulogy of Soma, which fills the first side of our second plate, the writer proceeds to his next brother who succeeded him. This grant was, it will be seen, issued 9 years after ours.

There is one remarkable circumstance concerning the grant before us which deserves notice. It was at the instance of a woman that king Soma made the grant. In the audience-hall, where were assembled eminent and influential men of his and of other kingdoms, and where persons, proficient in the arts of music and dancing, and men of taste were gathered together, and instrumental music was going on, she sang a beautiful song in a most skilful manner and obtained from the king, who was very much pleased, as a reward, his consent to give the land in charity, and granted it herself on the occasion; but afterwards got the king to do so more formally in the usual manner. She is represented to have been dearer to the king than his own life.

1. All this local information I owe to Mr. Natu.

If so, the question is whether she was his mistress or a married queen. In the first place, the title Devī is affixed to her name and she is called Sāvaladevī. This title cannot be given to a mistress. In a Śloka quoted in the Kāvyaprakāśa, we have : " Now that she (a certain woman) has been raised to the dignity of a Devī, how can she remain in the position of, i. e., be used as, an attendant." Similarly, in the play of Mālavikāgnimitra, when the chief queen Dhārīni is going to give Mālavikā in marriage to the king, the Vidūsaka on behalf of the latter, requests Dhārīni to confer on her the title of Devī before she could be accepted, and it is given to her in all formality. The title Devī, therefore, is applied to queens only. Again, Sāvaladevī was, according to the grant, Tilottamā herself in beauty, the very Sarasvatī in singing, and Pārvatī in Saubhāgya. Saubhāgya is a word peculiarly used in the case of a woman, and signifies her good fortune in having her husband living and enjoying his kind regards. At the same time, being compared with Pārvatī in this respect, Sāvaladevī must have been a married queen, since Pārvatī was the married wife of Śiva. We are also told that " Sāvaladevī's father was Mailugi, and her mother Malhanī ; and in consequence of the virtuous deeds of these two meritorious persons, such a jewel as Sāvaladevī was born. Her sister was one Bāvaladevī, the store of beauty and grace, and possessed of skill in the arts of singing and dancing. Her brother was Bhairava by name, who had exercised himself on the musical instruments, especially on the Brahmavīṇā, and was skilled in beating time." Now, if Sāvaladevī had been a mistress, all these her relations would not have been brought in to share her disgrace. And persons in that position are generally illegitimate children ; wherefore we should not expect a mention of the father's name in such cases. Besides, the whole matter about her asking the king's consent to give land in charity only as a reward, and making him grant it formally after she had herself done so first, points to her position as a wife.

There is, therefore, no doubt that Sāvaladevī was a married queen of Soma ; and, if so, we have evidence here that in the last quarter of the twelfth century of the Christian era, music and dancing formed a part of the education of Kṣatriya girls, and that a married Kṣatriya woman could be present at an assembly of emi-

nent men and sing before them without impropriety. The strict Purdah System, which the Maratha princes and chiefs observe at the present day, and which even the most highly educated among them have not the courage to give up, did not exist in those days.

TRANSCRIPT

I.

स्वस्ति । निर्विघ्नं पातु विश्वस्य गोपा स धरणीधरः ।
धर्मद्रुहां दमयिता देवस्त्यागचतुर्भुजः । अस्ति क्ष-
त्रियत्वनामाकरः सागरायते ॥ कुलं कलचु-
रित्याख्यं विख्यातं भुवनत्रये । तदन्ववाये राजाभूत्कृष्णः रु-
ण इवापरः । अपि बालस्य चरितमद्वतं यस्य गीयते । स जोगम-
महीपालं कालं वैरिमहीभुजां । वैरैकवन्यमहसां पात्रं पुत्रमजी-
जनत् । दाक्षिण्यजलधेस्तस्मात्क्षीरोदादिव चन्द्रमाः । अजायत
जगत्कांतः परमद्विमहीपतिः । तस्मान्मेरोरिवाशेषव्यापि-
नां तेजसां निधिः । उदितः सुभटादित्यो विज्ञाणः पृथिवीपतिः ॥
स च । आचकाम न कां दिशं न बुभुजे कं देशमुन्मूलयांचके कं
न (न) रिं बभार न रिपूनायाश्रितान्कानिह संचिकये न धनानि कानि
न ददो किं दानमजि मस्ते: केन्नायं गुणरत्नरोहणगिरिः श्री-
विज्ञाणक्षमापतिः । चांडयं पांडयस्त्यजति भजते चोलभूषश्वलत्वं
भर्गं वंगः सरति भरते मालवः कालशंकां । भूषाश्वान्ये र्ज(ज?)यति
जगतीं विज्ञाणक्षोणिपाले किन्नो (किं नो) दुर्गं जहति जिहते कां दि-
शं कार्दिशकाः । सर्वांशार्तानिमिरं नुदन्मुकुलयनसर्वद्विषद्ग्रभूजां ह-
स्तांभोजततीर्जगद्गुवलयनसर्वं स्वकीर्त्योजसा सर्वोर्विधरमूद्दीपी-
टानिहितश्रीपादरम्योदयो राजा सोम उदेत्कलानिर्धारितः पू-
र्णस्कुरन्मंडलः । वार्ता केवरणोच्छ(त्स)वेषु निनदद्रेशिरवे भैरवे
दूष्येषु द्रुघणाहेतरीप कृतैस्तेः कालकोलाहलैः यद्याश्रा-
मु विदुद्रुवर्त्त रिपवः के देशकोशत्यजः केषां वा न विदीर्य-
ते स्म हृदयं मूर्ढानिमीलदृ(हृ)शां । हेलाहेषितनादभारभरिता
दीणां यदशो दिशो धूताश्वाश्वसुराहतेः परचलत्कीला
यदश्शो नगाः । तत्तादृप्रियपुराजवीजदहनप्रस्थानवेलार्स्थ-
नि जानीते याद् शेष एष मुकृती भूभागसर्वसहः । यत्र पितरी-
व पार्तर चम इव यंतर जनो हि दंडधरे लोकद्रव्योचितानां सो-

II.—First side..

स्वयाना परदृश्वाभूतः । १) यस्योदयपराक्रमस्य सत-
तं दिग्जेत्रयाच्चोत्सवे स्वःसिंधोस्तीटनीति नाम ध-
र्थयत्यन्वर्थमेतद्रजः । त्रिंगत्तुगतुरुर्गनिष्ठुरखुरप्रक्षे-
पविक्षोभितक्षोणीषीठहठप्रस्तुदर्मचिराचाम्यत्वराखुद्य-
ति । यस्य च अर्पातिमसाहसस्य । भूभूद्वसु लीनवत्यसिलना-
धागधरे दुद्वेरे धारासारयुरासां विगलिताः कीलालकुलं-
कक्षाः । तासु द्वेषपक्गोटनोभिगमुहृत् (च्चु) दयद्वजाग्रत्कैभ्रम्य-
न्नेश मदांधभूतनिवहो नार्थापि विश्राम्यति । यस्योदागगु-
णोन्नतस्य जग्यत्यकाशगंगामदं हर्षं प्रोच्छति देवदंति-
दशनच्छयाकदंबोद्वतेः । कीलासस्य भियं पिपति जन-
यत्यातंकमिंदोरपि क्षीगच्छेरपि कौतुकं वितनुते नित्या-
वदानं यशः । संन्नाना(ना)होन्नतविगवेषसुभगं दृष्टेव यस्याद्वतं रू-
पं नाटगवर्काविक्रमनिधेगरादमी विर्द्धूषः । गेमांचार्दार्भि-
गमुवांति दशमीं भावैगवस्थामितः खीवत्तक्तमो न वेद त-
दिदं लोकोत्तरं पोकुषं । व्यामि दोवर्वलंसार्वभौमयशसः
किं बूमहे यन्महेशानोपि स्वयमीश्वरो नाह तनुगम्ये विवेकुं
निजाः । लोकाः किं च हसांति संर्पाति परे चांद्रं मदोत्सेकतः क्षी-
रोदेन समं च किं च कलहायन्ते षडव्यवधयः । यस्यासिधारां धा-
रा च वरे वितरणेथ वा । कृतकृत्या न के जाताः प्राप्य प्रत्यर्थिनो-
र्थिनः । गगनादृपि निःसंगमुदधरंरपि दुर्भासं । यत्साहसमनोप-
म्यादृष्टवैत उदासते । यशःप्रशसनयो यस्व याः सतां चित्तभि-
त्तिषु । न मांति मांति ताः कुत्र दित्यु वा गगनेथवा । इमं तमिति
किं बूमः सर्वमाक्रामति स्म यः । निधिः स तेजसां देवः कं देशं
नाश्वते करोः । वर्तमनेषु का वार्ता यस्मिन्वयस्य गोमति । ता-
दृशः क्षत्रियो लोके न जातो न जीनाथते । तस्य गीतकला-

II.—Second Side.

प्रोढिचमल्कागहृतात्मनः । राज्ञः सावल-
देवीति प्राणेभ्योपि प्रियाभवत् । गंगाप्रवाह-
वद्यस्याः शारीरामूलमुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लं त्रिमार्गशुद्धमाद्यादि सर्वं-
पापक्षयावहं । रूपे तिलोत्तमा सेव सेव गीते सगस्त्रनी ।
सांभार्यं पावती सैव त्यागं कल्पलता स्वयं । यात्पना म-

लुग्नन्नाम यन्माता मलृणीत्यभूत् । तयोरुणवतोः पुण्ये-
 रेद्युग्रत्नमजायत । यस्या वाच(व?)लदेवीति रूपसोभाग्ययो-
 निधिः भगिनी गीतनृत्यादिकलाकोशलशालिनी । यद्वा-
 ता भैरवो नाम यंत्रे गात्रे कृतश्रमः । विशेषाद्वृष्टवीणायां
 तालमानविचक्षणः । सा कदाचिद्दर्तिप्रोढगायनगाय-
 नी वांशिकर्वैणकमार्द्दलिकपाणिकादिगाधवर्सं-
 प्रदायनिभे श्रेष्ठाने भरतादिकलाकुशलेषु भावकर-
 सिकरं जकेषु स्वमंडलपरमंडलप्रधानव(प)र्षेषुपर्वेषु आ-
 हितस्थानप्राप्तिनारम्द्रव्यवस्थस्य प्रकटितस्कुरितकंपिता-
 दिसप्रविधगमकस्य स्फुटर्लालतकोमलपदस्यासंकेत-
 तनियुक्तस्य गाणगलपाशार्भधानस्य ध्रोच्च(व?)ड(ह?)स्य गानात्म-
 रितुष्टस्य नलनद्विभरतभगीरथप्रभृतीनापि पुराणपुण्य-
 क्षत्रियान्वीरवितरणादिभिर्गुणेः प्रगुणेगतशयानस्य म-
 हाराजस्य पारितोषिकलध्यया परस(म)यानुमत्या प्रशस्ते दे-
 शो काले स्वयं दत्तमाप षण्णवत्यधिकसहस्रतमे शके ज-
 यसंवत्सरे कर्तिकभुक्तद्वादशयां बृहस्पतिवारंगवती-
 नक्षत्रव्यतीपातयोगववकरणयुक्तायां सर्वविद्य-
 निधिभ्यः सदाचारपरिपूतेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यश्चतुर्द्धे
 शब्राह्मणेभ्य कण्ठंडेदेशांतर्गतवट्टचिनामध्येये

III.

ग्रामे माडदेंडेन चत्वारि चत्वारि निवर्तनानि
 देवदेवाय च श्रीसोमनाथाय नित्यपूजानिर्मत्तं
 निवर्तनमेकं कलमक्षेत्रं तावती च पुष्पवारिकं
 राजा गजकीयैरव्यनंगुर्लिपेक्षणीयं(प्रक्षेपणीयं)सर्वनमस्यं कृत्वा
 तेनैव महाराजाधिराजेन परमभक्तिशद्वापूतमनसा पुन-
 धरापूर्वकं दापितवती । अस्य च धर्मस्य रक्षणे फलामाति
 ह स्माहः प्राचस्तपोमहसाक्षात्कृतवर्मवर्गतयोः महर्ष-
 यः । बद्धुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता गजाभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा इलं । धनं धन्यं हिरण्यं च रत्नानि
 विविधानि च । दानान्यन्यानि राजेन्द्र ददाति वसुधां ददत् । अ-
 मिष्टामार्द्दभिर्ज्ञेये यजन्ति सदक्षिणेः प्राप्तुर्वानि न
 तत्पुण्यं भूमिदानादाप्यते । विपर्ययं च त एव विपरीत-

कलमाक्षासिषुः । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरां षष्ठि
 ष्ठ(व)र्षसहस्राणि विश्वायां जायते क्रिमिः । परदत्तां तु यो भू-
 मिमुपहिसेत्कदाचन । स वद्वो वारुणेः पासेः(शः)क्षत्यने पूयशोणिने ।
 अत एव च तत्र भवद्विभ्या(व्यां)सपरास(श)प्रभृतिभः साक्षात्कृतस-
 कलधर्मंतत्वेत्काल्यदर्शीभः महर्षिभिः प्रणीतामु सतीष्वपि
 स्मृतिषु साक्षादेव श्रुतिषु चोच्चावचासु धर्मोपदेशाय जाग्र-
 कामु पुनरर्पातोपानि(न्न)जसदाचारोदादृणदर्शनेन सर्वासाम-
 प्यमूर्षा मानुषीणां प्रजानामवोधांधतमसापनिनीदया लोकस्य
 भाग्येनावतीर्णः स्वयमेव भगवान्नग्रायणः श्रीरामनामधयः
 स्वनिर्भितस्यापि धर्मस्य कालातरेऽन्यथाभावशंकातंकतरलितो
 विनयोदारमधुरया संक्षमसुभग्या सरस्वत्या भविष्यतः क्षत्रियश्रो-
 त्रियन्सांजलिवंधमेवमध्यर्थ्यांचके ॥ सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुनृपः-
 णां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्दिः । सवर्वनितान्भाविनः पार्थिवेद्वन्मू-
 योभूयो याचते रामचं(च)द्वः । शक्तिवृप्तपात्तसंपन्न(न्न)वद्वन्द्विपादस-
 विना । रचितार्दि-
 त्यदेवेन सेयं शासनगद्वितिः । कृतिरियं चिभवन । व(विद्याचकवर्त्तिनः श्रीम-
 दादित्यदेवस्यः । मंगलमहाश्री ॥

TRANSLATION

Welfare ! May the God, the protector of the Universe, the support of the earth, and the chastiser of the enemies of virtue, who has four hands for giving, protect safely ! There is a family known by the name of Kalacuri, famous in the three worlds, which is as it were the ocean being a repository of jewels in the shape of [excellent] Kṣatriyas. In that race flourished a king [named] Kṛṣṇa, who was as it were another Kṛṣṇa, and whose wonderful deeds, done when he was but a child, are sung. He gave birth to a son, king Jogama, who was death to inimical princes, [and] the receptacle of prowess which is admired by heroes alone. From him who was the ocean of civility, was born king Paramarddi[n], charming to the world, as the moon is from the ocean of milk. From him, as from the Meru, rose king Vijjana, the sun in the shape of a good soldier and (like the sun)

the store of glory which pervaded everything. What quarter did king Vijjana, the mountain on which jewels in the shape of virtues grew, not overrun ? What country did he not enjoy (rule over), what enemy did he not extirpate ? What enemies, who had sought an asylum with him, did he not protect ? What kind of wealth did he not accumulate ? What gift did he not give, what sacrifices did he not perform ? When king Vijjana was conquering the world, the Pāndya gave up his fierceness, the Cola king took to his heels, the Vanga fled away, the Mālava suspected him to be Death himself ; and what stronghold did other kings not leave, and what quarter did the cowards not fly to ? From him rose king Soma the moon, in the full state of a Sovereign like the latter when full and bright, who was the abode of all arts as the latter is of the digits, dispelling the darkness of all quarters, closing [folding] the lotuses in the shape of the hands of all inimical princes, whitening the whole world by the lustre of his fame, with his rise made charming on account of his graceful feet being placed on the stool-like heads of all kings, as that of the moon is rendered charming by the rays falling on the tops of all mountains.¹ What enemies did not bolt away, abandoning their country and treasure during his marches, by the noises like those on the occasion of universal destruction, made by the striking of maces in his tents ? Whose hearts did not break (through fear) with their eyes closed in a swoon ? What talk then can there be as regards the dreadful noise of the drums in the festivals of fight ? The blessed Śeṣa alone, who bears the whole burden of the earth, knows, if at all, the condition of things on the occasion of those marches of his for burning the very seed of kings who were his enemies, when the eight quarters, resonant with the noise of the playful neighing of the horses were shattered, and the eight mountains were dislocated from their rivets by the tramping of the hoops of horses. While he is protecting the people like a father and governing them like Yama the chastiser (the god of justice), they have experienced all the happiness of the two worlds. In his joyous expeditions for the conquest of the quarters, full of great valour as he is, the dust, raised forcibly

¹ सोम, उर्बिधा and the rest have two senses, one fitting with the moon and the other with king Soma.

from the surface of the earth, agitated by the violent stamping of the hoops of the tall bounding horses, which bedims the lustre of the sun, always makes the name Tatīni (having banks, i. e., a river) of the celestial river literally true. Of unparalleled daring as he is, when the irresistible cloud, in the shape of his sword, rested on the summits of mountains in the shape of heads of kings, showers in the shape of the drops [of blood] from the edge of the sword poured down first and then flowed rivers of blood ; in those rivers the maddened crowd of beings rambles in boats made of the skulls of elephants by [using as] oars the arms of his enemies which were chopped off, and has not yet ceased. Exalted as he is by his sublime virtues, his ever pure (white) fame humbles the pride of the heavenly Ganges, mars the beauty of the colour intensified manifold of the tusk of the elephant of the gods, inspires the Kailāsa with fear, alarms even the moon, and excites the admiration even of the milky ocean. Seeing from a distance that wonderful form of the store of prowess, graceful on account of the dignified soldierly costume [consisting of] a coat of armour, the enemies, like women, attain to the tenth condition by means of the effects, horripilation and others¹ ; who, therefore, does not know that extraordinary manliness of his ? What shall we say of the omnipresence of his fame as supreme (over all) in the prowess of his arm, when even Śiva himself is not (in consequence of the excessive white light of the fame overspreading all equally) able to distinguish his eight bodies, and the worlds besides through excess of pride [on account of their being illuminated by the white light of his fame] laugh down to scorn the light of the moon, while all the six oceans compete (quarrel) with the milky ocean ? What enemy or beggar, having come in contact with the edge of his sword or of the stream of water (poured by the hand) in warlike or alms-giving deeds, did not attain his end ? Those who have seen his daring, which is more desperate than the sky is unentangled,² and more unapproachable than the sea, become despondent on account of

1 There are eight kinds of effects produced in a woman when under the influence of love : sweat, stupor, horripilation, &c. These are alluded to by the expression " horripilation and others " ; and there are ten conditions into which a lover is placed successively when his love is not requited, and of which the tenth is death.

2 A play upon the word निःसंग.

its matchlessness. What can hold the announcements of his deeds ? Can the quarters of the sky [do it], when they cannot all be accommodated on the walls [in the shape of] the minds of the good ? How can we say " here is he , " since he pervades all (space) ? What place is there which that lord, the store of glory, does not reach by his hands or his taxes ? While he is the protector of the Universe, (one can say that) such a Kṣatriya was never born or will be born, and what talk then can there be about such a one being among the existing ones ? As the heart of the king was charmed by the beautiful performances of skill in the art of singing, one Sāvaladevī (Queen Sāvala) was dearer to him than his life. Like the stream of the Ganges, the nectar (-like complexion) of her body was bright, pure in the three ways, delightful, and destructive of all sins. In beauty she was Tilottamā herself, in singing she was the very Sarasvatī, in good luck (the regards of her husband) she was Pārvatī herself, and in bounty the celestial creeper itself. Her father was Mailugi by name and her mother was one Malhani; in consequence of the virtuous deeds of those two meritorious (persons), such a jewel was born. Her sister was one Bāvaladevī, the store of beauty and grace (or good luck), and possessed of skill in the arts of singing and dancing. Her brother was Bhairava by name, who had exercised himself on the instruments and the body, especially in the Brahmvīnā, and was skilled in the beating of time. On one occasion while she was singing skilfully in the great audience-hall, in which the customary music of the flute, the lute, the drum, and the Pañava was going on, and in which were sitting eminent men of that and other kingdoms, who were proficient in the arts of Bharata and others and appreciated the principal and subordinate sentiments and could entertain others, she sang a Dhromvattha, called Gānagalapāśa, without previous arrangement (i. e. ex tempore), in a manner to have a high or low pitch according to the note used as a base, to bring out the seven kinds of Gamaka, such as throbbing and tremor, and to render the graceful and soft words distinct ; and obtained from the great king who was pleased,— the great king who surpassed, by the pre-eminent virtues of bravery and bounty, the old virtuous Kṣatriyas, Nala, Nahusa, Bharata, Bhagiratha and others—his consent [to

give land in charity] as a reward, and herself gave at an auspicious place and time, and (afterwards) caused that same sovereign lord of great kings, whose mind was purified by great faith and devotion, to give by pouring water on the twelfth of the bright half of Kārttika, the day being Thursday, the constellation Revati, the Yoga Vyatipāta, and the Karana, Bava, in Śaka one thousand and ninety-six, to fourteen Brahmans of different Gotras, who were stores of all lores and purified by their righteous conduct, four Nivartanas of land, each measured by the Māḍa pole in a village of the name of Battaci, in the country of Kanainvade, and to Śri-Somanātha, the god of gods, a field of rice measuring one Nivartana and a flower garden of the same area for everyday worship ; the grant not to be touched by the finger even, by the king or the officers of the king, and to be respected by all. The ancients, who by the force of their holy austerities directly perceived the results of good deeds, thus speak of the fruit of the maintenance of such a charity : " The earth has been enjoyed by many princes, Sagara and others ; the fruit accrues to him to whom the earth belongs and at that time when it so belongs. O best of kings, by giving land one gives money, grain, gold, various kinds of jewels, and other gifts. Those who perform the Agnisoma and other sacrifices giving Daksinā, do not acquire that merit that is attained by giving land." When it is otherwise, they have laid down the opposite fruit : " He who resumes the land given by him or by others becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. He who ever transgresses the [grant of] land given by others, is bound by the chains of Varuna and thrown into pus and blood." Hence the blessed Nārāyana himself of the name of Rāma, who became incarnate through the good fortune of the world, to remove the darkness of ignorance of these human beings by setting them an example in his own virtuous conduct, not being satisfied though there were Smṛtis composed by the revered great Rsis, Vyāsa, Parāśara, &c., who had a direct perception of the essence of all righteous behaviour and saw [the occurrences of] the three times (past, present, and future), and though there were the very Śrutis themselves, great and small, ever watchful to give instruction in righteousness, thus solicited future Kṣatriya sages in words exceedingly sweet through humility, brief and graceful, being disquieted by the fear of the [path

of] duty laid down by himself becoming corrupt in the course of time : " ' This is a bridge of righteousness common to all kings ; you should, therefore, protect it from time to time,' Ramacandra thus entreats all these future kings again and again." This charter has been composed by Ādityadeva, who waits at the feet of the learned Śripāda, possessing power (genius) and culture. This is the work of the prosperous Ādityadeva, the paramount sovereign of the three worlds in [matters of] Learning. Auspicious glory !

A SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION FROM CENTRAL JAVA.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVII, Part II, 1887-89, pp.1ff.]

TRANSCRIPT.

१. नमो भगवत्ये आर्यताराये ॥ या तारयत्यमितदुःखभवाद्विमम्भं लोकं विलोक्य विधि-
वस्त्रविधीरु-
२. पाये । सा वः सुरेन्द्रनरलोकविभूतिस[१]रं तारा दिशत्वाभमतं जगदेकतारा ॥ आवज्यं
महाराजं - - -
३. पणं पणंकरणं । शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं हि कारितं श्रीमत् ॥ गुर्वाङ्गिया कृतज्ञेस्तारादेवी
४. कृतापि तद्वनम् । विनयमहायानविदां भवनं चात्यार्यभिक्षणाम् ॥ पद्मरत्वानतीरिष-
५. नामभिरादेशशस्तभी राज्ञः । ताराभवनं कागितमिदमपि चात्यार्यभिक्षणां ॥ राज्ये प्रवर्द्धमा-
६. ने राज्ञः शैलेन्द्रवर्मनतुजस्य । शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं कृतं कृतिभिः ॥ शकनृप-
- कालानती-
७. वर्षशतैः सप्तभिर्महाराजः अकरोद्गुरुजार्थं ताराभवनं पणंकरणः ॥ यःमः कोलग
(श?) नामा
८. दत्तः संघाय साक्षिणः कृत्वा । पद्मरत्वानतीरिषदेशाध्यक्षान्महापुरुषान् । भूद-
९. क्षिणेयमतुला दत्ता संघाय राजसिहेन । शैलेन्द्रवर्मभूपैर्गुपतिपाल्यार्यसन्तत्या ॥
१०. सुण्णपद्मार्दभिः सत्त्वानकार्दभिः । सुण्णर्तीरिषादभिः पत्तिभिश्च साधुभिः ॥
अपि च ॥
११. सर्वनेवागामिनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते राजसिहः । सामान्योयन्वर्मसेतुर्न-
१२. राणां काले काले पालनीयो भवाद्देः ॥ अनेन पुण्येन विहारजेन प्रतीत्य जातार्थवि-
भागक(वि)-
१३. इः भवन्तु सर्वं विभवोपपन्ना जना जिनानामनुशासनस्थाः ॥ करि(लि!)यानपर्ण-
करणः श्री-
१४. मानभियाचतेत्र भाविनृपान् । भूयो भूयो विधिवद्विहारपरिपालनार्थमिति ।

TRANSLATION.

Salutations to the blessed, the noble Tārā ! May Tārā the only Saviour¹ of the Universe, who, seeing men sunk in the sea

1 This may also be translated as "the only star of the Universe."

of life which is full of immeasurable misery, formally delivers them by [resorting to] the three¹ means, give you the desired essence of the glory of the world of the Lord of the gods, and of men. Having prevailed upon the great King Panamkarana by... ... the Preceptor of King Śailendra² caused a splendid temple of Tārā to be constructed. At the command of the Preceptor, the grateful ones made [an image of] the goddess Tārā and constructed that temple and also a house (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests (Bhiksus) who knew the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) of discipline. By the king's mandate issued in the names of Paṅkura, Tavāna, and Tirisa,³ the temple of Tārā was caused to be constructed and also this (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests. The meritorious Preceptor of King Śailendra constructed the temple of Tārā during the prosperous reign of the king, the son of Śailendravarma. The great King Panamkarana built the temple of Tārā to do honour to the Preceptor, after seven hundred years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed. A village of the name of Kolaga(śa?) has been granted to the congregation, the eminent men and leaders⁴ of the

1 The Upāyas or means are three. (See Dharmasaṅgraha, Max Müller's Ed., CXI.)

2 Śailendra, literally means "the lord of mountains," and the phrase, Śailendrarāja may be translated as "king of the mountainous country." But it must be taken here as the name of a king. He is called Śailendravarma in the sixth line, of which name the latter part varma is the usual affix of the names of Kṣatriyas; and his son is represented as reigning at the time when the temple was built. In the ninth line the plural of the name with the word bhūpa added to it is used, and the phrase literally means "the kings Śailendravarmas." This could be taken as the plural honorific; but at the time when the Inscription was cut, Śailendra was not on the throne, but his son; wherefore the plural is to be understood in the sense of "the descendants of Śailendra." It will be seen in the Remarks that I identify Śailendra with the prince Sela Prawat, whose name occurs in one of the lists given by Sir Stamford Raffles.

3 These are un-Sanskrit names, and must be the titles in old Javanese of the leading men or officers of districts and villages resembling the hereditary officers of India. They are spoken of as Deśadhyakṣas or "leaders of the country" below.

4 See the above note.

country, Pānkura, Tavāna, and Tirisa being called to witness. This incomparable Daksinā (gratuity) in the shape of land has been granted to the congregation by the lion-like king. It should be continued by the kings [of the race of] Śailendravarma to successive bodies of the honoured ones (Bhiksus), and by the wise¹ Pānkura and others, the good Tavāna and others, the wise Tirisa and others, and the virtuous foot-soldiers. Moreover, the lion-like king again and again begs of all future kings, that this bridge in the shape of charities which is common to all men should be preserved by them from time to time. By the religious merit resulting from this monastery, may all people who follow the teaching of the Jinas derive a knowledge of the divisions of things produced by the chain² of causes, and attain prosperity ! The prosperous Kaliyāna³ Panamkarana begs again and again of future kings to preserve the monastery in the proper manner.

REMARKS.

I place before the Society to-day a photograph of a Sanskrit Inscription found in Central Java, together with a modern Nāgari transcript and an English translation. The photograph was sent to me from Batavia by Mr. Baumgarten, who takes great interest in Oriental studies. The Inscription is cut on a slab of stone, and the length is 67 centimetres and breadth 46. The characters resemble those of North-Indian Inscriptions of the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries, being a good deal like those in the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III dated 730 Śaka or 808 A. D., the grant of Vākpatirāja of the year 1031 Saīvat corres-

¹ The word which I read Sunṇa must be a word expressive of praise as Sat is, which is used in connection with Tavāna, and Sādhu which is applied to the Pattis. It seems to be the Prakrit of the Sanskrit Sujña.

² Twelve things are mentioned in the Buddhistic treatises, each subsequent one of which is produced from each preceding, and this constitutes the chain of causes and effects, upon which depends the worldly existence of man. When this chain is known and efforts are made to destroy the first link, a man is free from worldly existence and attains Nirvāna. The technical term by which this causation is known is Pratītyotpāda (Dharmasāṅgraha, Max Müller's Ed., pp. 9 and 43).

³ This is another name of the king. See the "Remarks."

ponding to 975 A. D., and the Inscription at Deval in Rohilkhand, dated 1049 Saṁvat or 993 A. D.; while the style of execution is almost exactly like that of an Inscription found at Ghosrāvan, near the old city of Nālandā in Magadha or Bihar, which I translated for Mr. Broadly in 1872,¹ and which is to be referred to about the middle of the ninth century.

The Inscription is in verse. The first stanza is in the Vasanta-tilakā metre, one in the middle is a Samānikā without the last or eighth syllable, two about the end are in the Śālinī and Upendravajrā metres; and the remaining eight are Āryās. That in the Śālinī metre is the same as the one which occurs in some North-Indian and also South-Indian copperplate grants; only, the first half of the Indian Śloka is here made the second half, and we have Rājasimhāḥ instead of Rāmabhadraḥ.

The Inscription opens with salutations to the Buddhistic goddess Tārā; and in the first stanza she is praised and her blessings invoked. Then we are told that the Guru or Preceptor of King Śailendra, having established his influence over the great King Paṇamkaraṇa, caused a splendid temple of Tārā to be constructed in the reign of the son of King Śailendravarman. Paṇamkarna built the temple of Tārā out of respect for the Preceptor, after seven hundred years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed. This temple and also a monastery for the mendicant priests of the Mahāyāna school referred to by the pronoun "this", were erected after a royal mandate had been issued in the names of the Pānkura, Tavāna, and Tiriṣa. A village of the name of Kolaga or Kolaśa was granted as Dakṣinā to the congregation of the priests, and the same Pānkura, Tavāna, and Tiriṣa, who are here spoken of as Deśādhyaksas or the leading men, or rather the constituted authorities of the country, are called to witness the grant. Then follows the charge usual in Indian charters of this nature to future kings to continue the grant and preserve the monastery.

Of these two buildings, the monastery is that which is called

1 Published in Vol. XLI, JASB, Part I, p. 271 [and printed later in this Volume].

Chandi Kali Sari by Sir Stamford Raffles and described by him in his History of Java (Second Ed., Vol. II, p. 25). "The external appearance of this edifice is," he says, "really very striking and beautiful. The composition and execution of its outer surface evinces infinite taste and judgment, indefatigable patience, and skill. Nothing can exceed the correctness and minute beauties of the sculpture throughout, which is not merely profuse, but laboured and worked up to a pitch of peculiar excellency scarcely suitable to the exterior of any building." Again :—"On entering the building, the mind of every one must be fully satisfied that it was never constructed for, or dedicated to, mere religious purposes. The arrangement is entirely adapted to the domestic residence of a great Hindu chieftain or rājā." But we now see from the Inscription that it was not the residence of a great Hindu rājā, but the residence of the priests of the Buddhist Mahāyāna school.

The temple of Tārā is described by Sir Stamford under the name of Chandi Kali Bening (Vol. II, p. 27). "This ruin," he says, "is of the same general form and appearance as the larger temples at Chandi Sewa and Zoro Jongran, but on a closer examination, is found to be superior to the whole, in the delicate and minute correctness of execution of all its decorative parts." I submit to the Society the photographs of these two buildings which Mr. Baumgarten has kindly sent to me.

It is somewhat difficult to determine the relations between the prince Śailendra whose Preceptor caused the temple to be constructed, and his son during whose reign it was constructed, on the one hand, and Paṇamkarana, the monarch, who constructed it and made the grant of land, on the other. Śailendra and his son are spoken of as Rājās merely, while Paṇamkarana is styled Mahārāja, wherefore it is possible that he was a paramount sovereign whose feudatories were Śailendra and his son. But taking all things into consideration, I think it best to take Paṇamkarana himself as the son of Śailendra, though I should have expected his name in the clause "during the prosperous reign of the son of Śailendra," which occurs in the Inscription.

In one of the lists of the Hindu sovereigns of Java given by Sir Stamford Raffles (p. 87, Vol. II), on the authority of Manus-

cripts found in the eastern parts of Java, the name Śela Prawat occurs. Prawat is evidently the Sanskrit Parvata or "mountain," which means the same thing as Śaila. This Śaila appears to be the same monarch as the Śailendra of our Inscription. The date of his accession given in the MSS is 756 of the Javanese or Śaka era, while, according to our Inscription, he must have ceased to reign before 700 Śaka in which year his son was on the throne. But this small discrepancy must be regarded as confirming the identification rather than militating against it; for a mere tradition such as that recorded in the Manuscripts, cannot be expected to be perfectly accurate. Or, it is possible that the Inscription gives only the hundreds of the number representing the date, omitting the tens and units.

The name of the next king given in the list is Kandiawan or Jaya Langkara. Kandiawan appears to be the same as Kaliyāna, which, in the last stanza of the Inscription, is prefixed to the name Pañamkarana. Of the second name the first part is a mere horonic prefix, and Langkara is not unlikely a corruption of nāmkara which occurs in the name Pañamkarana, the first syllable Pa being dropped, and nām changed to Laing as it does even in our Indian languages. As in the charters issued by Indian princes the royal mandate is addressed to the Rāstrapatis, Grāmapatis, Āyuktaka, Niyuktaka, &c., that is, to persons invested with authority over villages and districts like the hereditary officers of modern times, so is it in the charter before us. But these district and village authorities are here called Pankura, Tavāna, and Tirisat. These are not Sanskrit words, and must be old Javanese. The first of these seems to have been presevered in the modern Pangoran, a title applied to the sons and daughters of sovereigns, according to Raffles (Vol. I, p. 298). This similarity in the form of the charters points to a similarity of polity in the two countries.

According to the united testimony of all who have written about the island, Central Java is full of statues, Inscriptions, and ruins of buildings, all of them vestiges of the flourishing Hindu civilization of the island. The sculptures and detailed ornamentation of the finest building, the Boro Buddor, present such close resemblance to those in the Nasik, Ajanta, and Kenari Caves,

that in the opinion of the late Dr. Fergusson, it points to an identity of workmanship and workmen. Most of the Inscriptions are in the Kawi or old Javanese dialect, while there are a few which are in Sanskrit like the one before us. It is very much to be regretted that many of these have not yet been published, as they are sure to throw considerable light on the obscure history of the island, as our Inscriptions have done on the early history of India.

In the Fourth Volume of the Indian Antiquary, (p. 356), two small Sanskrit Inscriptions from East Java are published, the characters in which are unmistakably South-Indian; while our Inscription is, as we have seen, in the Nāgari characters of the North, especially of Magadha or Bihar, thus showing that Hindus both from Northern and Scuthern India went and settled in the island. The Inscriptions from Cambodia recently published by M. Barth are all of them in the South Indian characters, and in all, one or other of the Brahmanic gods, Śiva, Visnu, &c., is invoked. Cambodia was thus colonized by Hindus from Southern India, and does not seem to have had any considerable Buddhistic population.

The Hindu settlements of Java were not made once for all; but there must have been a constant communication between the island and India; and Indians went to Java and settled there from time to time. The earliest notice of the Hindu civilization of the island which is unquestionably historical is that by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa-Hian, who in 413 A. D. returned to China from Ceylon by sea, and, on the way, passed five months in a country which he reached at the end of more than ninety days after leaving Ceylon, and which he calls Yepoti. Yepoti is the Chinese equivalent of Yavadvipa, the Sanskrit name of Java. As the island of Sumatra also was by the Mahomedans called "lesser Java," Dr. Fergusson thinks that that was the island visited by Fa-Hian. But I agree with Mr. Beal in thinking that in all likelihood it was Java itself.

In the Yavadvipa, Fa-Hian tells us "heretics and Brahmans flourished, but the law of Buddha is not much known." If these Brahmans and heretics established a

colony in the island before the beginning of the fifth century, and carried with them the Sanskrit alphabet of the time, they could not, if they were cut off from the parent country, develop out of it the fine Nāgari letters of the Inscription before us, so alike in every respect to those in use in Northern India four centuries later. And our Inscription, as well as the remains of Buddhistic temples and monasteries, show that in the eighth century and even before, there was a large population of the followers of Śākyamuni; but since Fa-Hian says that the law of Buddha was not much known when he visited the island, the Buddhists must have emigrated in large numbers later on. In an article by the late Dr. Burnell published in *The Academy* in 1876, that scholar states his view that there was "a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A. D., and these took with them a Nāgari alphabet, which is a great contrast to the old Javanese character." We now see the existence of this Nāgari alphabet in the island in the latter part of the eighth century of the Christian era, and also of a large Buddhistic population.

In the Sanskrit literature of India, however, so far as it has hitherto been examined, Java is very rarely noticed. The "Yavadvipa adorned with the seven kingdoms," and Suvarnadvipa which has been identified with Sumatra have been mentioned in the Kiskindhākānda of the Rāmāyaṇa; and in the Kathāsaritsāgara, Indian merchants are represented as trading with Suvarnadvipa and other islands of the name of Nārikela or the cocoanut island, Karpūra or the camphor island, and Katāha. The Kathāsaritsāgara is professedly a translation of or compilation based on Guṇādhya's Brhatkathā, a work which must have been composed in the first or second century of the Christian era. If, therefore, this work, which has not yet been recovered, contained a mention of Suvarnadvipa and some of the other islands of the Eastern Archipelago, the connection of India with those islands must have begun very early. And this is confirmed by Fa-Hian's statement in the beginning of the fifth century that Brahmans and heretics flourished in the island.

The traditional accounts of the Javanese refer the foundation of the first Indian colony to a person whom they

call *Ādi Śaka* or the original Śaka, the founder of the Śaka era, which is used in Java. Higher antiquity is not claimed for it. It is, of course, difficult to say what the precise meaning of the tradition is; but what appears to me to be, in all likelihood, the true sense is that some princes or chiefs of the Śaka or Scythian race,—which, we know, had established itself in India about the beginning of the Śaka era, and had adopted Indian civilization, as is evident from the coins and Inscriptions of the Satrap dynasty of Ujjayini and Kathiawar—established the first Indian Colony in Java a short time after the foundation of the era in India. The same enterprising spirit which brought the Śakas into India and led to the establishment of a Śaka monarchy in Sind, Rajputana, and other provinces, must have carried them further to the east.

Hinduism did not possess that tenacity in Java which it has shown in India. From about the first century before the Christian era to about the beginning of the fourth, many of the Indian provinces were held by foreigners of the Yavana (Bactrian Greek), Śaka, and Palhava races who had settled in the country. They, however, did not communicate any new religion to the Hindus, but, on the other hand, adopted either Buddhism or Brahmanism from the Hindus themselves. After the restoration of the native dynasties in the fourth century, Brahmanism became more powerful than Buddhism, and flourished till the beginning of the 12th century, by which time the latter had died a natural death. But now a new and serious danger threatened the existence of Hinduism. The Mahomedans, who show no toleration for other religions, established an empire in India. But though they held the country for five centuries and forcibly converted Hindus to Mahomedanism and pulled down their temples, from time to time, when the religious zeal of their princes and chiefs was excited, the only tangible effect of their domination was to add a Mahomedan fraction to the population of India. Mahomedanism did exert an indirect influence over some of the Hindu religious sects, especially by communicating to them a strictly monotheistic tendency; but it was slight. In Java, on the other hand, Mahomedans did not appear as conquerors but as missionaries; but in a short course of time they

succeeded in converting the whole island to their faith, and Hinduism was compelled to take refuge in the small island of Bali, where it flourishes at the present day. But with the destruction of Hinduism, the blood of the foreign colonists, who "had persevered for nearly nine centuries in adorning the island with edifices almost unrivalled elsewhere of their class, had become," according to Dr. Fergusson, "diluted, their race impure, and their energy effete."

And, gentlemen, you will, I hope, allow me, in conclusion, to make a reflection or two which it is almost impossible for an English-knowing Hindu in the present condition of his country to avoid, when engaged on such a subject as this. If from the first century of the Śaka era to about the twelfth, Brahmans and other Hindu castes set at naught the prohibition of the Śāstras against crossing the sea, and went on voyages lasting for ninety days and more, there is no reason why they should not do so in this nineteenth century of that era, and go to Europe and America. The amount of energy and enterprise that the Hindus of those days displayed, in thus keeping a constant intercourse with Cambodia and the islands of the Archipelago, establishing colonies there, and imparting to the native Polynesians their own civilization, ought, in the midst of a great deal in our present condition that is very discouraging, to fill us with hope as to the innate capacities of our race. If, according to the interpretation I have ventured to put on the Javanese tradition, it was in consequence of their contact with the Śakas that the Indian Āryas first showed those qualities, we have by our side at the present day the sturdy Anglo-Saxon to spur us on. Let us accept his guidance and leadership with a willing heart, and move on in all the fields of human activity, not excepting the one the achievements of our ancestors in which we have been considering.

A NOTE ON THREE BRICKS* WITH IMPRESSIONS OF
FIGURES AND LETTERS ON THESE FOUND
AT TAGOUNG, SOME 200 MILES ABOVE
MANDALAY IN BURMA.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XX, 1902, pp. 106ff.]

(Communicated to the Society in July 1898.)

Nos. I and II of these bricks contain three figures, the middle one sitting in an attitude of meditation with the right hand touching the earth, and the two at the sides standing. They are enclosed in shrines, and the vacant space is filled with representations of Stūpas. The sitting figure represents Buddha and the two at the sides probably represent his chief disciples Śāriputra and Maugdalyāyana speaking or lecturing. The third brick contains only one figure in a shrine which represents Buddha sitting in a meditative attitude as in the others, and the vacant space at the sides and above is filled with Stūpas, the two at the sides being much larger than those above or in the other two bricks. Below the figure there are letters in relief, which, together with the figures, were impressed on the clay by means of a matrix. They form the well-known Buddhist formula in the Āryā metre. The following are transcripts :—

No. I.

ये धैमा हेतुपह्वा तेसा हेतु नथागतो [वो] (च)
तेसां च यो निरोधा एवंवादी महा[स](म)णो

For the letters marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, read respectively धं, सां, तुं, सां, धां. The letters which are indistinct are enclosed within rectangular brackets. The letters which have dropped out or are obliterated are enclosed within circular brackets.

No. II.

[ये] धैमा हेतुपह्वा तेसा हेतु नथागतो वोच
तेसां च यो [निरो] धां एवं वादी महं(स)[म]णं

Read धं, सां, तुं, सां, धां, वं, शी, हा, णं respectively for the letters marked 1, 2, 3, &c.

* Forwarded by Lieut. A. Willock.

No. III.

[ये] धर्मा हनुपहवा तेसां हे[तुँ] न [था]
 गतो [वो] च तेसां च यो निरोधा
 [एवंवादी] महा [सम]र्ण

For the letters marked 1, 2, 3, &c., read respectively धं, हे, सां, तुं
 सां, धो, वं, णा.

This formula occurs in Buddhistic sculptures discovered in India, and it was often impressed on clay by means of a seal as in the numerous specimens found in one of the Keneri caves (JBBRAS, VI, 157, Pl. VII, a, b, c, d), at Valabhi (Ind. Ant., I, 130; JBBRAS, XI, 334) and other places in Northern India. It however mostly occurs in its Sanskrit form, and is as follows :—

ये धर्मा हनुप्रभवा हनुं तेषां तथागतो अवदत् ।
 तेषां च यो निरोध एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥

As impressed on the bricks under notice, it is in the Pali language. Here we have तेसां before हनुं, and चंच, the Pali form of the Sanskrit अंचत्, for हि and अवदत्. The formula gives succinctly Buddha's method of Salvation. He traced the misery of worldly existence to certain causes and pointed out the way of counteracting or destroying those causes and thus attaining to bliss. The formula may be thus translated :—

“The Tathāgata explained the cause of those matters which spring from a cause and [the mode of] its destruction. This was what the Great Ascetic taught.”

The form of the letters on the bricks resembles that which prevailed in Northern India in the eighth century of the Christian Era. The bricks therefore are not older than that century.

It deserves to be noticed that one of the clay impressions found at Keneri and given by Mr. West in his article resembles the figure and the Stūpa ornaments in the bricks before us, and the formula also is in Pali, except that we have प for प in the fourth word. There is also the verb वच for वोच instead of the अवदत् of the Sanskrit form. This is almost a unique instance of

the occurrence of the Pali formula in Indian monuments. That we find it mostly in Sanskrit is to be accounted for by the fact that it was composed or came into general use about or after the time when the Pali ceased to be the sacred language of Indian Buddhism. In the bricks under notice it occurs in the Pali form because the language of Buddhistic Literature in Burma has always been Pali.

ON DR. HOERNLE'S VERSION OF A NASIK INSCRIPTION AND THE GĀTHĀ DIALECT.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume XII, 1883, pp. 139ff.]

In the middle of 1874 I spent about six weeks in deciphering and translating the Inscriptions in the caves at Nasik, and prepared a paper and submitted it to the International Congress of Orientalists held in London in that year. The paper has been published in the Transactions of the Congress.¹ The reading of those Inscriptions was a work of great difficulty, since some of them are in the Pali or Prakrit dialect, and others contain a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. The letters, too, in several of them, are faintly cut. I could derive very little assistance from the labours of my predecessor in the field, for, except the one which is almost entirely in Sanskrit, the Inscriptions were misread by him. I could, therefore, never look upon my work as final, and was aware of its imperfections. Besides, the paper was printed in London, and as I could look over one proof only, there are a good many misprints. I have, therefore, long been thinking of revising the paper, and publishing it separately; but no opportunity has yet presented itself, and I now learn that Dr. Bühler has re-read and re-translated the Inscriptions. What I have been able to do is to re-write my remarks on the relations between the Āndhrabhrtyas and the Satrap kings; and these I have embodied in a paper I have written for the Bombay Gazetteer.² Since the time my translations appeared in the Transactions of the Congress, I have found one or two better readings proposed by other scholars. Similarly there is one proposed by Dr. Hoernle in his paper, published in the Indian Antiquary, Volume XII, pp. 27ff, to which I should attach great weight if I were to revise the paper. But that scholar has at the same time found fault with my translation of the Inscription, which is the subject of his paper, and which is one of the easiest in the series. He thinks I have

1 It has been included in Volume I of this Edition.—N. B. U.

2 This ‘paper’ is the “Early History of the Deccan” included in this Volume earlier.—N. B. U.

mistranslated it. I desire therefore to discuss the matter here, so that scholars at large may be able to judge whether Dr. Hoernle has mistranslated it or I.

The Inscription is No. 17 of Mr. West's Series. Dr. Hoernle thinks he has discovered an important fact, viz., that the Inscription is in the Gāthā dialect. This, in my opinion, does not come to more than saying that it contains a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit, or that there are some ungrammatical forms in the Inscription. For I believe the Gāthā dialect does not deserve to be called a dialect with distinctive characteristics. My views on it as well as on the language of these Inscriptions, both of which I also consider alike, I have given in the Wilson [Philological] Lectures which I delivered in 1877, but which, owing to several unfortunate circumstances, I have not yet been able to publish.¹ I quote them here from my manuscript :—

"In many other ancient monuments existing in the country, we often find Inscriptions which are principally in two languages, the Sanskrit and the Pali or Prakrit, understanding by this last term a dialect derived from Sanskrit. Those in the latter (Pali) are mostly connected with Buddhism, though some Buddhistic Inscriptions also—such as those discovered by General Cunningham at Mathura several years ago—are in Sanskrit. In the caves at Kanheri, Nasik, Junnar, Nanaghat, Karle, and some other places in this Presidency and in the Bhilsa topes, we have Pali or Prakrit Inscriptions. Most of these are short, but at Nasik we have long ones in the caves of Usavadāta and Gotamiputra. The language of these latter is Pali, and but a few forms are peculiar, such as Datta and Kita for which the Pali has Diuṇa and Kata,—past passive participles of the roots dā and kr̥, and "Be" for the numeral 'two,' instead of the Pali Dve or Duve. In Uṣavadāta's cave we have one Inscription (almost) entirely in Sanskrit, the rest are in Pali or Prakrit, but we have an intermixture of Sanskrit words, and the conjuncts pra, tra, and kṣa often appear. In these and the smaller Inscriptions we have such words as Bāra

¹ Since published in a book form, Bombay, 1914. These Wilson Philological Lectures of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on the Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages are included in Volume IV of this Edition.—N. B. U.

for Dvāra, Bārasaka for Vārsika, Barisa for Varsa, Udisa for Uddīṣya, while the Pali forms of these words are Dvāra, Vassika, Vassa and Uddesetvā.

" Some of these Inscriptions were engraved so late as the third century, when the Pali could hardly have been the vernacular. It had, however, become the sacred language of the Buddhists; the mendicant priests, for whom the caves were intended, and even educated lay members of that persuasion understood it, and hence it was used in these Inscriptions as Sanskrit was in others. The style of Gotamiputra's charters, abounding as it does in long compounds and elaborate expressions, is very unlike the plain and simple language of Asoka's edicts. And at the end of these and that of his son, we are told that the officers of the kings who caused the charters to be engraved, acted under the command of, i. e., wrote to the dictation of 'respected persons who were the compilers of all such documents.'

" It thus appears that the Pali was at that time a sacred and a literary language among the Buddhists. And as to the language of other Inscriptions, which, like those of Gotamiputra and his son, were not composed by learned men, one can easily understand how ignorant persons not knowing Sanskrit or Pāli well, but still not ignorant enough to know nothing of both, would confound together Sanskrit, Pali and vernacular words. Even in our days we find this phenomenon in the Patrikās or horoscopes written by our Jōsīs or astrologers, which are neither in pure Sanskrit nor in pure vernacular, but contain a mixture of both, and the Sanskrit words and forms in which are incorrectly written.

" And an explanation of this nature I have also to give of another variety of language that is found in the writings of the Northern or Nepalese Buddhists. Unlike those of the Singalese and Burmese Buddhists these are written in Sanskrit, but in such works as the Lalitavistāra, or the Life of Buddha, we find along with prose passages in pure Sanskrit a number of verses which contain words or forms which are not Sanskrit. Thus, for instance, we have—

सर्वश्चकर्महेतोः फलमिदं शृणुनास्य कर्मस्य¹ ।

or

पूजारहो भवितुं सर्वजंगं अनुग्रन्थत इममनन्तयश्च² ।

" You will here see that Karmasya, Jage, and Yaśain are, in the Pali, treated like nouns in *a*. Arha is dissolved into araha, and there are a few other instances of this process, such as Kileśa for kleśa, Śiri, for śri, Hiri for hrī, &c. But generally the conjunct consonants are retained as they are in Sanskrit, and not assimilated as in the Pali. So also you have Codenti³ for codayanti, Māyāya,⁴ gen. sing. of māyā, Upajanitvā,⁵ Śunisyāti,⁶ Niriksatha,⁷ imperative second pers. pl. Śametha⁸ for Śamayata, &c., and even such words as manāpa,⁹ which are Pali in every respect. But along with these Pali characteristics, there are other peculiarities which must be attributed simply to carelessness. For instance, the case terminations are often omitted as in Kāma sevati¹⁰ for Kāmām sevate, Sugata¹¹ for sugatam, when governed by Pūjayitum, Mokṣa bhosyati for Mokṣo bhavisyati, &c. Such constructions as Kṣāntyā¹² saurabhyasaiñpannāḥ for Kṣāntisaura-bhya¹³, Śilasamādhi tatha prajñāmayam for Śilasamādhiprajñā-mayam are often to be met with.

" This language has, therefore, no fixed characteristics at all. We have seen that in such words as Karma, Jaga, and Yaśa above, the final consonant is dropped, and these as in the Pali and the Prakrits made nouns in *a*. But Yaśas, the original Sanskrit form, is also used as in Kirtiryayaśasca,¹⁴ and there are instances in which other final consonants are preserved. Along with such a Pali form as Śunisyāti noticed above, such a Sanskrit one as Śrṇvanti,¹⁵ is found. It therefore appears to me that this is not an independent language; but that the writers of the Gāthās knew the spoken language of Pali, and that they were imperfect-

1 Lalitavistāra p. 40, l. 14.

2 Ib. p. 50, l. 6.

3 Ib. p. 14, l. 9.

4 Ib. p. 31, l. 7.

5 Ib. p. 40, l. 17. 6 Ib. p. 62, l. 1.

7 Ib. p. 41, l. 10.

8 Ib. p. 42, l. 4.

9 Ib. p. 51, l. 15.

10 Ib. p. 31, l. 11.

11 Ib. p. 51, l. 10.

12 Ib. p. 41, l. 9.

13 Ib. p. 51, l. 18.

14 Ib. p. 50, l. 17.

15 Ib. p. 111, l. 7.

ly acquainted with Sanskrit, knowing enough of it to see that the assimilation of consonants was a vulgarity, but not acquainted with its grammar. They intended to write in the more polished or literary language, but not knowing it well, often used unconsciously the grammatical forms and the peculiar words of the vernacular.

"At the time when the Gāthās were written, the claims of the Pali to be considered a separate language were probably not recognized, and it constituted the speech of the uninstructed. Those who in this condition of things wished to write, could not think of doing so in that form of speech, and therefore wrote in what they considered the language of educated men, but they knew it imperfectly, and hence produced such a heterogeneous compound as we have seen."

I give this rather long extract to show that in my opinion we should not in these Inscriptions look for the characteristics of a settled or fixed dialect. The Inscription under discussion was composed by one who wished to write Sanskrit, but did not know the language quite in the form which was finally given to it by the great grammarians and other authors. Hence, along with Sanskrit, we should expect to meet with a few Pali or vernacular forms of words.

I will now proceed to consider Dr. Hoernle's translation, and his objections to mine.

In the first line occurs the compound Suvarnadānatīrthakareṇa, used as an epithet of Usavadāta. I translate it, "who presented gold and constructed flights of steps." Dr. Hoernle calls this a curious *juxta-position*. Why, I do not know. The Inscription attributes such gifts and charitable deeds to Usavadāta as have been considered peculiarly meritorious by Hindus from that to the present day, and are laid down in works on the Dharmasāstra, with certain rituals to be used in making them. The giving away of a hundred thousand cows and of villages, feeding a hundred thousand Brahmins, furnishing Brahmins with the means of marrying, and all the rest, which are credited to Usavadāta, are such; and among the meritorious deeds of this nature is the deed of giving Suvarna or gold, which is quite an independent gift. Suvarnadāna is mentioned as one of the ten chief Dānas or

religious gifts, in all treatises on the subject, and among them in Hemādri's *Dānakhaṇḍa* (p. 564-75, Bibl. Ind. Ed.).

Tirtha is 'a flight of steps' to a reservoir or stream of water, and is so explained by the native lexicographers, and is used in that sense in literature. Mallinātha, commenting on a verse in the *Kirātārjunīya*, which contains that word, says, "as there are many people to enter a reservoir of water, to which a Tirtha has been constructed but the maker of a Tirtha is rare, so, &c."¹ The making of a Tirtha, like that of constructing a bridge, is considered a meritorious deed. In a passage from the *Āditya-Purāṇa*, quoted by Hemādri, in the work mentioned above, Tirtha is named along with *Tadāga* 'a tank,' *Kūpa* 'a well,' *Setu* 'a bridge,' &c., as a thing the maker of which goes to heaven and lives there for crores of years (p. 155). Suvarṇadāna or the gift of gold and the construction of a flight of steps or a Ghāṭa, were the two religiously charitable deeds of Uśavadāta at Bārnasāyā, and therefore they are here put together. The Inscription is a historical record, and not a work of imagination. If it were the latter, one might well ask what is the necessary connection between them which led the author to put them together. But the muddy state of the river might have led the son-in-law of Nahapāna to construct a Ghāṭa there, and Suvarṇadāna, being one of the several modes of charity which Hindu opinion held sacred, was made by him there as he made other gifts in other places.

The other objection brought forward by Dr. Hoernle is that "Dānakarena is, he imagines, a rather unidiomatic expression." I suppose he means that the use of the root *Kṛ* with *Dāna* is not sanctioned by idiom. But in Hemādri's *Dānakhaṇḍa* we have (p. 3, v. 17), *Tatkṛtadānavārilaharī*, "the waves of the water [poured on the occasion] of the gifts made by him "; (p. 34), *yat kanyāsu pitā kuryāt dānam pūjanamarcanam*, quoted from the Brāhma Purāṇa; (p. 90), *dānamācamanam praudha-pādo na kurvita*, quoted from Śātyāyana; (p. 688), *yat kiṁcīt kurute dānam tadānāntyāya kalpate*, extracted from the Vahni-Purāṇa; and (p. 996), *dānam tena prakartavyam*, quoted from the Bhavisyottara. In these and a variety of other instances the

root Kr̥ is used with Dāna and therefore my way of dissolving the compound cannot be objected to on the score of idiom.

Now Dr. Hoernle's translation of the compound which, he says, is also Dr. Bühler's, is—"gave gold to build a sacred bathing place." This destroys the religious sense of Dāna and makes the expression Suvarṇadāna quite useless. Certainly the other works of Usavadāta,—the rest-houses, tanks, wells, &c.,—were not constructed or dug by him with his own hands. He paid gold or money to get them also constructed or dug. Why then should the expression Suvarṇadāna be used here, and not in those places? And what are bathing places as different from the Ghāṭas or flights of steps, and whence do you get them?

The next expression with my translation of which Dr. Hoernle finds fault, is Catuśālāvasadhaphratiśraya. He thinks that one kind of building only is intended by this compound, but beyond saying that in this Dr. Bühler agrees with him, he gives no reason whatever. But Pratiśraya, as I have stated in a note, is what in these days is called an Annasattra, i. e., a house where travellers put up and are fed without charge. Dr. Hoernle calls it a rest-house. I have no objection to the word, provided he means what I mean; for Hemādri, (p. 152), explains Pratiśraya as Pravāsi-nām āśrayah, i. e., a shelter-house for travellers. Again, the Vahni-Purāna as quoted by him, (p. 673) has—

प्रतिश्रयं सुविस्तर्णं सदनं सुजलान्वितम् ।
दीनानाथजनार्थाय कागयित्वा गृहं श्रमम् ।
निवेदयत्पाथस्येभ्यः शुभद्वारं मनोहरम् ॥

"Having caused to be constructed for poor and helpless persons a Pratiśraya [in the shape of] a good house, very commodious (wide), having food and plentiful water, provided with a good door, and charming, he should dedicate it to travellers."

The establishment of such houses for poor travellers, i. e., the founding of Pratiśrayas, forms an independent charitable deed of great merit (see Hemādri, Dānakhaṇḍa pp. 673-677). There is another in the shape of giving houses to poor persons (pp. 646-

663). Houses so given are sometimes spoken of as Āvasathas. Thus Vedavyāsa, as quoted by Hemādri (p. 646), has—

रथ्यमावसर्थं चैव दत्त्वामु लोकमाभितः ।

"Having given away a charming house, (āvasatha), he attained the other world." In the Ānuśāsanika Parvan of the Mahābhārata an account is given of several former kings having performed certain charitable deeds and obtained their fruits in the next world, and among them one is spoken of as "having given away charming houses to the twice-born and gone to heaven"—

रथ्याश्रावसयान्दत्वा द्विजभ्यो दिवमागतः ।

Ānuśāsanika Parvan, chap. 137, v. 10, Bombay Edition.

Similarly the Brahmānda Purāna as quoted by Hemādri (p. 162), says that by giving away charming Āvasathas or houses, one attains the fruit of the Rājasūya sacrifice. The extract from the Mahābhārata given on the next page by the same writer contains a verse in which the giving away of Vihārāvasathas or pleasure houses, is associated with the giving away of gardens and wells.

Thus then, Āvasathadāna and Pratiśrayadāna are two different things, and therefore the compound does not express one thing only. Now Catuśsāla might be taken as an attribute of Āvasatha, but even here, seeing how gifts of different things are associated in the other compounds used in this Inscription, I think it is better to take that also separately.

The next expression in dispute is Ibā-Pārādā-Damana-Tāpi-Karabenā-Dāhanukā-nāvāpunyatarakarena. Dr. Hoernle takes Nāvāpunyatarakarena as one compound, and Ibā—Dāhanukā as another. This last is, according to him, in the accusative case. I would ask 'What is the accusative governed by ?' But this is not a difficulty with Dr. Hoernle, for he says "the accusative is used for the locative." He thinks this is a rule of the Gāthā dialect; and to prove that rule, he adduces four instances only,—two from the Mahāvastu and two from the Lalitavistāra,—though he says this substitution of the one case for the other is "particularly frequent". I am sorry the Mahāvastu is not at hand, but the first reference to the

Lalitavistāra I have verified. There the words are Yathābhīpre-tam Rājagrham vihṛtya, "having diverted or enjoyed himself in Rājagrha in accordance with his wishes." Now Rājagrham is, according to Dr. Hoernle, by a Gāthā rule, an accusative used for the locative. In Sanskrit proper the accusative, he thinks, would not be put here. He appears to me to follow the Editor of the work, and since the latter professes to explain what he considers peculiar Gāthā expressions in the footnotes, and since here in a footnote, the Editor does give Rājagrhe as an equivalent for Rājagrham, his conclusion is that the accusative is here used for the locative. But Patañjali, the great grammarian, commenting on a Kārikā to Pāṇini, I. 4. 51 says :—

देशश्चाकर्मकाणां कर्मसंज्ञो भवतीति वन्नव्यम् ।

i. e. the place where an action denoted by an intransitive root is performed is to be called a Karma or object, and as such should be put in the accusative case. The instances he gives are Kurūn svapiti, 'he sleeps in the Kurus,' Pañcālān svapiti, 'he sleeps in the Pañcālas.' This observation of Patañjali and the first instance are given in the Siddhānta Kaumudi. In virtue of this rule of Sanskrit then, not of the supposed Gāthā dialect, Rājagrha, in the passage from the Lalitavistāra, being the place where the action denoted by the root hr̥ with vi, which is intransitive, is performed, the name of the town is regarded as an object and put in the accusative case, and so we have Rājagrham.

In the other reference to the Lalitavistāra the line mentioned is at page 476 instead of page 467. Here Dr. Hoernle has quite misunderstood the editor's note. In the text we have the compound Tvacamāṁsam. In a footnote the editor explains this as tvānmāṁse, which he must have meant for the dual nominative of the Dvandva compound of Tvac and Māṁsa. But from the termination e, the Doctor thought the editor meant it to be a locative. The locative would make no sense here—the case wanted is the nominative. In the text, though Tvac is treated like a noun ending in a the compound is Samāhāradvandva, as it should be according to Pāṇini II. 4. 2; but the editor seems to have thought it wrong, and so has given the ordinary Dvandva instead.

Now in the two instances from the Mahāvastu given by Dr. Hoernle, the words in the accusative are Avicim, which is a kind of Buddhistic hell, and Dharaṇim, which, I suppose, is the word that signifies "the earth." If these are governed by verbs or participles implying "motion," they are regular Sanskrit accusatives; if not, they also must be brought under the rule we have been considering. It is possible that the rule which primarily is taken by Patañjali's commentators to apply to names of places, such as Kurus, Pañcālas, Rājagrha, &c, may in later usage have been extended, and made applicable to places generally, such as the earth and the Buddhistic hell; but that the accusative in these cases is to be accounted for in either of these two ways and no other, appears certain.

Then again, Dr. Hoernle thinks that there are two accusative forms in this Inscription itself which, violating the rules of Sanskrit grammar, prove his Gāthā rule. One of them is Tiram in the expression Ubhato tīram. This, however, is in perfect accordance with the rules of Sanskrit grammar, for, under Pāṇini, II. 3. 2, Patañjali gives a Kārikā, and comments on it thus :—

उभयसर्व इत्यताभ्यां न सन्ताभ्यां द्विर्नीया चक्षव्या ।

i. e., a noun that is in syntactical connection with Ubhayataḥ and Sarvataḥ should be put in the accusative case: in other words, Ubhayataḥ and Sarvataḥ govern an accusative. The instance given by him is Ubhayato Grāmam. The Kārikā is given in the Siddhānta Kaumudi.

The other accusative form relied on by Dr. Hoernle is Varsāratum in the expression Gato'smi varsāratum. This accusative is to be explained by Pāṇini, II. 3. 5, which teaches that a noun expressing duration should be put in the accusative case. The sense then would be that Usavadāta went to the place mentioned for the rains. Now if it should be objected that in Gato'smi varsāratum, duration is not what is meant, but simply the time when he went, this might be considered to be an extension of the original Sanskrit rule, but not a violation of it. This is what I meant by saying in a note in my paper that Varsāratum is used for Varsārtau.

Thus then the rule laid down by Dr. Hoernle that the accusative is promiscuously used for the locative is not at all proved;

nor do I think there can be such a rule. There may be an extension in a few cases of some of the special rules about the use of the accusative, as must be expected from the operation of the law of analogy,¹ but a promiscuous substitution of the one case for the other is not possible under any ascertained laws of the growth of human speech.

In the case in dispute, therefore, the supposed accusative Ibā—Dāhanukā must be justified on other grounds. It should be stated what it is governed by. An accusative must be governed by a verb, a participle, a preposition or a particle of that nature, and if it is an accusative expressive of length, distance, or duration, it must depend on the word, the length, distance or duration of the thing denoted by which it expresses. None of these requisites exists in the present case, and therefore to take Ibā—Dāhanukā as an accusative is clearly a mistake.

So then, if we take Nāvā to be the Pali form of the Sanskrit Nau, we shall have to consider the whole expression given above as one compound, and there is no question the compound would be awkward and unintelligible; while if we take Nāvā as an instrumental, and Ibā—Dāhanukā as a compound with the genitive termination *nām* omitted by mistake, the construction is natural and simple, and the sense plain. Besides, if the names of the rivers are to be taken as parts of the compound, and consequently attributively joined to the word Tara, and thus subordinated to it, they cannot be referred to by the pronoun Etāsām immediately afterwards. And since the rivers are independently spoken of by the genitive Etāsām, it is very likely that their names were independently put in the genitive case before. And the omission of *nām* is very natural; for the engraver did actually cut one nā in the stone, and thought he had cut both.

Dr. Hoernle translates the expression Nāvāpunyatarakara by "maker of a sacred ferry of boats." He thus takes the first part as a genitive Tatpurusa equivalent to Nāvānām punyatarah (supposing Nāvā to be a word ending in ā). Now Tarah means "crossing," wherefore the compound would express "the sacred crossing of boats." This to my mind conveys no sense. Tara

¹ Hemacandra notices such an extension in his Prakrit grammar.

has hardly a conventional (Rūdha) sense as distinguished from the etymological (Yaugika). And even supposing it denotes "a boat," which it does not, what can "the sacred boat of boats" mean ? And why should the ferry-boats be called sacred ? Dr. Hoernle says, because "they were set apart for a special sacred purpose, viz., to carry pilgrims across." But what is the necessity of restricting the good done by Usavadāta to pilgrims ? Ferry-boats are a necessity in the case of all, just as water is, and as an establishment for giving water is opened by charitable persons for all human beings, so are ferry-boats placed for the use of all. There is no ground whatever for supposing that their use was so restricted, nor is it reasonable to suppose it was. But Dr. Hoernle's objection to the interpretation of Punya as "religiously meritorious," is that the establishment of boats is "no more so than the other acts specified in the record." The objection has force no doubt, and therefore I would divide and read the words thus: Nāvā apānyatarakarepa. Panya is used in the sense of something one has to pay in exchange for what he purchases¹; and Tarapanya is a word given by the native lexicographers in the sense of what is paid for being taken across a river, i. e. the fare of a ferry-boat. Apānyatara, therefore, is a Tara or crossing for which one has not to pay anything, i. e. a free carriage across; and that is what Usavadāta provided by placing boats on the rivers. The translation of the whole expression therefore is, literally, "who by means of boats caused a free passage across the rivers Ibā, &c.," i. e., "who established free or charitable ferry-boats." This is the sense of the words I have used in the translation of the Inscription in my paper, though I do not now remember whether I read and construed the compounds as I do now, and cannot understand how there is no note on it, and how the translation of a few words in this line has dropped away, as Dr. Hoernle points out. The sense this construction gives appears to me to be so appropriate, that here again I must accuse the engraver of a mistake. Instead of stopping after he had cut a square with the upper line wanting, to represent त्, he prolonged the right hand side below the line and made

1 महता पृथ्यपण्डेन क्रीतेयं कापर्मास्वयः i. e., " You have purchased this boat of your body by paying a heavy price for it in the shape of good deeds."

of it. He was more familiar with the word *Punya* than *Panya*, and had to engrave it once before, and hence his mistake is not unnatural.

In the transcript of the Inscription in my paper, य appears in brackets after *Ubhato*. Thereupon Dr. Hoernle thinks I read *ubhaya* for *ubhato* and construe *ubhayatirām* as a compound. But if taken as a compound it would have to be considered as in the accusative case. The accusative, however, cannot be syntactically connected here. I do not think it was difficult to make out that what I meant was to give the correct Sanskrit form of the word, which is *Ubhayato* and not *ubhato*, and that the bracketed य was printed after ते instead of between य and ते by a mistake.

The next expression is *Sabhā-prapā-kareṇa*. Dr. Bühler and I understand *Sabhā-prapā* as a Dvandva, but Dr. Hoernle thinks "the compound may be explained much more simply as a common *Tatpurusa*," and takes it to be a dative *Tatpurusa*. Why is a dative *Tatpurusa* much more simple than a Dvandva? On the contrary, I should think it one of the most difficult, since Pānini and his commentators allow it only in a few cases. A dative *Tatpurusa* is possible only between two nouns, the first of which having the sense of the dative, denotes a certain material, and the second a thing made of that material, and between any noun in the dative sense and Artha, *Bali*, *Hita*, or *Rakṣita*.

It is wrong to suppose that we can compound any words in any sense. The Sanskrit idiom sanctions certain compounds only, and in a certain sense, and rules about these have been given by the grammarians, and they are generally followed by Sanskrit writers, though not invariably. A compound that violates the rules strikes the ear at once as bad. You cannot, for instance, form such a compound as *Brāhmaṇapayah* in the sense of *Brāhmaṇāya payah*; and no more can you have *Sabhāprapāḥ* in the sense of *Sabhāyai* or *sabhābhyaḥ prapāḥ*. Both the compounds would be quite un-idiomatic. And what is the sense that we get? Uśavadāta constructed "watering places for the assemblies, i. e., for those assembled to cross over the rivers." Why need persons assemble in numbers to cross a river, and if evne

they did, who would think of calling them a *Sabhā*, except metaphorically? A *Sabhā* is much more formal than that. The word has the sense of "a regular assembly," or "a meeting," with a certain purpose. A crowd of persons who have casually gathered on the road do not constitute a *Sabhā*. The word denotes also "a hall," or "a house." The first sense does not answer here, but the second is appropriate.

The clause to be next discussed is the one beginning with *Pinditakāvade*, and ending with *Parsabhyah*. Dr. Hoernle translates *Rāmatīrthe carakaparsabhyah* by "the Parsads (or congregations) going to *Rāmatīrtha*." He takes *Caraka* as a verbal derivative like *Kāraka* and *Hāraka*, since he understands it in its etymological sense, and attaches to the root its primary signification, viz., to "move or wander." But if it is used as a verbal derivative, the vowel should have taken *Vṛddhi* and the word become *Cāraka*. *Caraka*, therefore, has a special sense, and I believe is never used simply in the sense of "one who moves." In the quotation from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* given by Böhtlingk and Roth in their Lexicon, sub voce, which is *Madresu carakāḥ paryavrajāma*, the word *Caraka* is explained by *Samkarācārya* and others as *Adhyayanārthaṁ vrata-caranāḥ carakāḥ*, i. e., "they were called *Carakas*, because they were observing (✓ car) a vow for the sake of study"; and the very use of the verb *paryavrajāma*, which means 'we wandered,' shows that *Caraka* had even then acquired a secondary and conventional (*Rūdha*) sense. It has other special senses also, but the word—I maintain—is not used in the primary and etymological sense attached to it by the Doctor. Besides, the compound is by no means good, since the word *Caraka* which has been subordinated to *Parsad*, is what is called *Sāpekṣa*, i. e., connected with the word *Rāmatīrthe*, which is not in the compound. A subordinate member of a compound should not, as a general rule, be thus connected with an independent word, though a *Sāpekṣa* compound is allowable when the sense is not rendered obscure thereby. *Rddhasya rājapurusāḥ*, for instance, in which *Rāja* is connected with *Rddhasya* will not do, though *Devadattasya gurukulam* is admissible.

Dr. Hoernle here says that "in Sanskrit we should expect the accusative *Rāmatīrtham*," instead of the locative *Rāmatīrthe*,

which he accounts for by a Prakrit usage ; i. e., according to him, the rules of Sanskrit grammar require that the expression should be Rāmatīrthaṁ Carakaparsadbhyāḥ. I suppose he means that the accusative will be governed by the word caraka. Here there is a double mistake. When a verbal or participial form of the root car is used in the primary sense of the root, viz. "wandering," the place wandered over is oftener put in the locative than in the accusative.¹ So that the locative is not only not wrong according to the idiom of Sanskrit, but is decidedly better. But even if we suppose that the "place wandered over" is always considered as the object of the action, and put in the accusative, as in the case of the root Gam, still by a general and very rudimentary rule of Sanskrit grammar, the agent or object of an action is put in the genitive case when any verbal derivatives are used (Pāṇini II. 3. 65), except those enumerated in Pāṇini II. 3. 69. Thus ghaṭam kārakah is certainly not Sanskrit, and so Rāmatīrthaṁ carakah cannot be. They ought to be Ghaṭasya kārakah and Rāmatīrtha-sya carakah, supposing this latter word were unobjectionable in other respects, as it certainly is not.

And now as to the sense of the expression. Why should "going to Rāmatīrtha" have been rendered a sine qua non of the recipients of Uśavadāta's gift? The congregations resided in Govardhana, Śorparaga, and other places. Why should it have been considered necessary that they should 'be in the habit' of going to Rāmatīrtha to be fit to receive the cocoanut trees? Thus, in every way Dr. Hoernle's construction and translation are untenable.

I still think Caraka is a mistake for Carana; for then the expression Caranaparsadbhyāḥ would mean "to the conclaves of learned men belonging to the Caranas or bodies of students of each Veda or Sākhā." But Caraka also will make sense, though it is not so appropriate; for it would mean "the bodies of persons belonging to the Caraka sākhā." In the last case the sense is restricted, and in the other, I do not understand why the observers of the vows meant should be spoken of as forming a Parsad which

1 See अप्य चतुर्विंशति Ait. Brāh. VII, 14 & 15, and the many quotations given by Böhtlingk and Roth in their Lexicon, sub voce,

is rather a technical term as applicable to the learned leaders of a Śākhā.

Then Dr. Hoernle sees no reason why Dr. Stevenson and I should read *parsadbhyah* instead of *parsabhyah*. For myself I may state that I visited the caves in person, and compared Mr. West's transcripts with the originals. On looking into my copy of the transcripts I now find *bhyah* corrected to *dbhyah*, though there is a mark of interrogation against this. I am not sure therefore that *dbhyah* exists there, but I thought I saw it, and hence put it in.

Again, the Doctor says:—“The word *nālīgera* has greatly puzzled Dr. Stevenson and Prof. Bhandarkar.” Though his identification of the word with the Sanskrit *Nārikela* is not improbable, so far as the sound of the word is concerned, I must confess I still continue to be greatly puzzled. For, if *Uśavadāta* presented thirty-two cocoanut trees in the village of *Nānamgola*, this village must be on or near the sea coast, for cocoanut trees do not grow above the Ghāṭas. But among the grantees was the body of the learned Brahmins of Govardhana near Nasik, and it was one of the four congregations at least to whom the thirty-two trees were given, so that about eight must have fallen to its lot. Now the presentation of eight cocoanut-trees at a place more than sixty miles distant from where the persons to whom they were presented lived, and separated from it by a high mountain range, is a thing of a very unusual character. The Brahmins of Govardhana would have preferred some other trees or something else nearer home, if *Uśavadāta* really wished to confer a favour upon them. And if the Govardhana conclave consisted of several individuals, the grant was of hardly any practical value to any one of them. And what could be the reason why thirty-two cocoanut trees in one and the same village were given to bodies of men living in different places?

Dr. Hoernle thinks it objectionable to take *Dharmātmanā* as an epithet of *Uśavadāta* in the sense of “benevolent,” or “charitable,” and translates it “out of religious principle.” In Sanskrit usage *Dharmātman* is always used as an epithet of a person, and taken as a Bahuvrīhi in the sense of *dharmaḥ ātmā yasya*, i. e. “one whose very self, or soul, or nature, is charity or benevo-

lence, or virtue."¹ In our modern vernaculars also, the word is used in that sense. If understood as Dharmāścāsau ātmā ca, i. e., as a Karmadhāraya, it would mean by (his) self or nature, viz. benevolence, &c., which comes to the same thing as before, though the compound and its use would be unidiomatic. If taken as a genitive Tatpura, 'Dharmasya ātmā,' the sense would be "by the nature or self of benevolence &c." In this sense it would not do here at all; for Uṣavadāta gave away what he did because benevolence was his nature, not on account of the nature of benevolence, which would be unintelligible. Dr. Hoernle is "inclined to think that it is probably a Buddhistic technical term;" but he gives no reason for this. I wish he had given one instance at least.

He says Dharmātmā is very widely separated from Uṣavadāta, whose epithet it is taken to be. The same objection might be brought against the epithet that immediately precedes, viz. Sahasrapradena; but notwithstanding that, Dr. Hoernle himself construes it with Uṣavadāta. The thing is, after the word Uṣavadāta, you have in the Inscription nothing but a string of epithets, and Dharmātmā is the last of them. Between this and the preceding epithet, you have only the name of the place where the monastery was excavated, so that really the epithet in question is not far removed.

The other objection is, that the word occurs in another Inscription (West's No. 11, not 4), where the Doctor thinks it impossible to construe it with the person named. To be able to construe it with the person, I have taken the word to be Dhammātmano,—led to it by some stroke above the nā. But if that reading is not allowable, we should complete the first sentence with Indrāgnidatasa, and translate:—"Of Indrāgnidatta, the Northerner &c," i. e., after the genitive some such word as Dānam or Deyadhammo, should be understood, as it has to be done frequently! The second sentence begins with Dharmātmā, and

¹ See the references, sub voce, in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon; and Mahābhārata Ānuśāsanika, Bom. Ed. chap. 139, v. 10, Dharmātmā Krṣṇah; chap. 140, v. 2, dharmātmā Vṛṣabhaṅkah; chap. 142, v. 39, Dīkṣāḥ carati dharmātmā, ib. v. 57, Sukham vasati dharmātmā; chap. 143, v. 45, Vipro bhavati dharmātmā &c. &c.

the instrumental is to be connected with Khānitam, the sense being "this cave was caused to be excavated by the pious one."

Then Dr. Hoernle speaks of my reading of two words in the last line, Bhāṭṭārakā āññatiyā, and thinks the final ā of Bhāṭṭārakā is unintelligible. But it exists in the original notwithstanding. The initial ā of the next word is that which is written below the line. I transferred it to its proper place, taking it to be a correction, as Dr. Bühler does. Dr. Hoernle and he, however, read it as अ, but in my corrected copy of Mr. West's transcript I find ā and there is no query after it as in the case of Parṣadbhyā noticed above, and that it must be ā, I will show presently.

Dr. Hoernle thinks that the अ below the line is meant to indicate the division of the compound. Why was that considered necessary here and not in Gatosmi, which occurs immediately afterwards and in Catusālāvasadha, which we have in the second line? It appears to me that the engraver first cut the words Bhāṭṭārakāññatiyā, and somebody afterwards found that it was capable of being taken as Bhāṭṭāraka aññatiyā, equivalent to Bhāṭṭāraka ajñaptiyā, meaning "without the knowledge of the lord," but that was not what was meant. What was intended was Bhāṭṭāraka āññatiyā for Bhāṭṭāraka ajñaptiyā, i. e., "by the command of the lord;" and in order that there might be no mistake about it, he thought the best way was to separate the words, as he had done in the case of Tadāga udapāna in the second line, and put in the initial अ which was so important. After he had done that, it was necessary to obliterate the stroke representing अ in the last syllable of Bhāṭṭārakā, but as this was difficult he did not attempt it.

Now as to the gap between Mālaye and Hirudham, I thought I saw some letters like sāyin in it when I visited the caves, and therefore it did not occur to me to say the gap contained nothing, and to connect hi with Mālaye. Dr. Hoernle's reading Mālayehim is however very likely and good, and I feel no hesitation in saying so—as I have felt none in expressing my disagreement with him on every other point, expect, to a certain extent, the identification of Nālīgera with Nārikela—and in pointing out his mistakes.

¹ See No. 10 Karle, and No. 21 Junnar, Arch. Surv. Western India,—Cave Temple Inscriptions No. 10; Bhilsa Topes Nos. 103, 136, 147, 174, No. 1 Tope &c.

THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XVII, part II, 1887-89, pp. 80ff.]

[The paper was communicated on 1st August 1889.]

In 1884 I published in my Early History of the Deccan, a note on the Gupta Era¹, in which I endeavoured to show that there was no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of the initial date of the Gupta Era, given by Alberuni, and that, such of the Gupta dates found in Inscriptions, as contained details which allowed of their being compared with corresponding Śaka years, confirmed the statement of the Arab author. In the Introduction to the Volume on the "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings," just published by Mr. J. F. Fleet, as Epigraphical Surveyor to the Government of India for about three years and a half, he quotes my views, in doing which, however, he has not been fair to me. He is also at issue with me with regard to the accurate Epoch of the Gupta Era. I therefore deem it necessary to notice this part of the Introduction.

In note 2, p. 64, Mr. Fleet says of me :—" A most curious confusion between current and expired years of the Śaka Era runs through his remarks. Thus, though quite rightly taking Śaka-Samvat 406 expired to be equivalent to A. D. 484-85 with a difference of 78-79, he also with the same difference, took, e. g., A. D. 511-12 as the equivalent of Śaka-Samvat 433 current." I did not; and this is a pure misquotation. I did not say that Śaka-Samvat 406 expired was equivalent to A. D. 484-85 ; nor did I say that Śaka-Samvat 433 current was equivalent to A. D. 511-12. My words are :—" Śaka 406 corresponds to 484 A. D. If, however, he had added $241 + 78 = 319$ and taken 484 A. D. to correspond to Gupta 165, &c." (Early History of the Deccan, p. 99, lines 12 and 15-16);² and " 191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Śaka current + 78 = 511 A. D. current." That is, I take 406 Śaka past (= Gupta + 241) to correspond to 484 A. D. and 433 Śaka current to 511 A. D.

¹ Ante, pp. 179ff. [N. B. U.]

² Ante, p. 179 [N. B. U.]

Now it is a patent fact that every Śaka year corresponds to parts of two Christian years; but to avoid pedantry it is usual to give one of the two years only, except when something important is involved. And I have here given that of the two Christian years with which I was concerned. Śaka 406 past corresponds to a part of 484 and of 485 A. D., and Śaka 433 current to a part of 510 and 511 A. D. I gave the first in the first case, because, the month of Āśādha mentioned in the Inscription falls in the first of the two Christian years to which a Śaka year corresponds, and to mark off its contrast with General Cunningham's 483 (not 483-484); and the second in the second case because it was the year against which the cyclic year Mahācaitra is found in General Cunningham's Tables, and not against 510.

It will thus be seen that the "most curious confusion" found by Mr. Fleet is not in my remarks, but in Mr. Fleet's misunderstanding and misquotation of them. He had no reason whatever to take my 511 A. D. as 511-1 A. D.; if he wanted to state the two years to which the Śaka year corresponds, he ought to have taken it as 510-11 A. D.

In another place (p. 141, note 3) though he acknowledges that my second note drew his attention to the desirability of examining the details of almanacs, and though he must have seen it distinctly stated by me, that the Śaka dates used by us in the Bombay Residency represent expired years, and those used on the Madras side current years, the latter being in advance of the former by one year, and though under these circumstances it is impossible that I should think the addition of 79 to a current Śaka year would give us the Christian year containing the second part of the Śaka year,--still it is under such an implication as this that he quotes this same equation of mine, viz., 191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Śaka current + 78 = 511 A. D. current, and another viz., 209 Gupta past + 242 = 451 Śaka current + 78 = 529 A. D. current. Both these equations I say are perfectly correct; but the second Christian year a part of which corresponds to a part of the Śaka year, ought not to be taken as 512 in the one case and 530 in the other, but 510 and 528 respectively. And as I have given 511 in the first case as stated above, because in General

Cunningham's Tables, it and not 510 occurs in the column of Mahā-caitra, so have I in the second, given 529 and not 528, because it occurs in the column of Mahāsvayuja.

Again in my note, I identify (E. H. D., p. 129, lines 26-27)¹ Dhruvasena II with Hiuen Tsiang's Dhruvabhaṭa, and observing that the difference in the latter part of the name is insignificant, since Sena and Bhata were titles that could be used promiscuously, I proceed to say that the king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasimha may have been called Dhruvabhaṭa by ordinary people, from whom Hiuen Tsiang must have got the name. Now, no fair-minded man can have any difficulty whatever in finding out that here I speak of the same king Dhruvasena with whom I have above identified Hiuen Tsiang's Dhruvabhaṭa, and that Dhruvasiinha is a misprint for Dhruvasena. Still Mr. Fleet says "the name of Dhruvasiinha does not occur at all in any of the numerous Valabhi grants that have come to light." If I were to criticize Mr. Fleet's work in the same spirit, I should for instance, say as regards his reference to Volume IX of the Archaeological Reports as that which contains General Cunningham's "Tables for the twelve year cycle of Jupiter" (p. 102, note 1, 1. 13), that the Tables did not occur at all in the whole Volume; and I should be more justified in doing so, since Mr. Fleet gives no indication whatever that IX is a misprint for X; while I have just five lines above called the same king whose name is printed here as Dhruvasiinha, Dhruvasena.

Mr. Fleet supposes me to have made "an assertion that Hiuen Tsiang was speaking of only two kings" (Intro. p. 65, ll. 6-7). I made no such assertion. My words are :—"The Chinese writer does not speak of a king but of kings," (E. H. D. p. 129, ll. 16-17).² The word two does not occur here or anywhere else in connection with this matter. Mr. Fleet, however, may have meant to say that this is implied in the words that immediately follow which are :—"and says they were nephews of Śilāditya of Mālvā and the younger of them named Dhruvabhaṭa, was son-in-law to the son of Harsavardhana. If they were nephews of the king of Mālvā they were brothers and both of them kings." If so, my reply is, that herein I interpret the plural kings in view of the identification I am going to make of the kings with two brothers

¹ Ante, p. 182. [N. B. U.]

² Ante, p. 181. [N. B. U.]

who reigned one after another, viz. Dharasena and Dhruvasena. Mr. Fleet at the same time finds no authority in the two translations of the Chinese work for my statement that the younger prince was denoted by Hiuen Tsiang by the name Tu-lu-p'o-po-tu. The authority is in Julien's translation. The words translated into English are :—"The present kings are of the race of Kṣatriya. They are nephews of Śilāditya, king of Mālvā. At this time the son of Śilāditya, king of Kānyakubja, has a son-in-law named Dhruvapātu." Since Hiuen Tsianz is to be supposed as knowing of kings past and present and not future, the kings who were nephews of Śilāditya of Mālvā other than the one on the throne at the time, must have reigned previously to him, and since of brothers those who are elder occupy the throne before the younger, Dhruvapātu's brother or brothers who reigned before him must have been his elder brother or brothers, and he, his or their, younger brother. This is an obvious inference.

Again Mr. Fleet says :—"he announced that Prof. K. L. Chhatre had found that it (Eran record) was correct for Śaka-Samvat 406 as an expired year :" (p. 64). On this there is a foot-note which begins :—" It was from this that he inferred that the Gupta Samvat 165 of the record was itself an expired year." And then he proceeds to tell me something about "the equation between the Gupta and the corresponding English date" being not "intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all," the bearing of which on the point I cannot understand, since the question is whether the Gupta year 165 as compared with the corresponding Śaka year and not the Christian year was an expired year. And in determining the value of a Gupta date, we have primarily to do so in terms of a Śaka date and not a Christian date, since the equation given by Alberuni is in terms of a Śaka date.

It will, however, be seen from the context that the fact of 406 Śaka being an expired year was only one of the premises which led me to the conclusion that 165 Gupta was a past year. The other premise is the rule I have laid down at the end of the last paragraph, viz., that if both Gupta and Śaka years are past or both current, the difference between them is only 241.¹ And I have alluded to it even here. If between 165 Gupta and 406 Śaka the difference is 241, and if the latter is

¹ Ante, p. 179. [N. B. U.]

an expired year, the former also must be so. The grounds for this rule also are indicated in my paper. Mr. Fleet contests it and attributes the result I come to, to the general mistake as regards the epoch of the Śaka era (p. 84, note) and refers to his note on p. 64 which I have been discussing and in which he says "the equation between the Gupta and the corresponding English date is not intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all." What the epoch of the Śaka era and the equation have to do with my rule I cannot perceive. It is based on independent grounds which I will now proceed to discuss as well as the true epoch of the Gupta era.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has calculated and verified certain dates for Mr. Fleet and the following are the results :—

1 Gupta 165 of the Eran Inscription corresponds to Śaka 406 expired.

2 Valabhi 945 of Colonel Tod's Veraval Inscription corresponds to Śaka 1186 expired.

3 Valabhi 927 of Dr. Bhagvanlal's Veraval Inscription corresponds to Śaka 1167 expired.

4 Valabhi 330 of Dr. Bühler's Kaira plate Inscription corresponds to Śaka 570 expired.

5 Gupta 386 of a Nepal Inscription corresponds to Śaka 627 expired.

6 Gupta 585 past of the Morvi plate translated by me corresponds to Śaka 826 and 827 expired.

Now Mr. Fleet supposes that the Gupta Valabhi years are current years, and that by the addition of 241, the equation given by Alberuni, we get the corresponding expired Śaka year, and of 242, the corresponding current Śaka year. So that 0 Gupta current corresponded to 241 Śaka expired and 242 Śaka current, i. e. to 319-20. This therefore is the epoch of the era. Mr. Fleet gives no reason whatever for taking the Gupta years as current; but I suppose he thinks it natural that they would be so, especially since they were regnal years and dates in the Christian era represent current years. But from Inscriptions and books we see that the Hindu's usual, not invariable, way of expressing a date

is not 'in the year so and so' but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such event took place.' And in the second note given in the 'Early History of the Deccan,'¹ I have shown that in the Inscriptions there examined, about two-thirds of the dates represent the years expired, and one third the year current. It should by no means be supposed that the expired year is to be understood only when a word expressive of 'having elapsed' is used. We use expired Śaka years at the present day in ordinary transactions, but never use a word expressive of 'having elapsed.'

Mr. Fleet admits, though most grudgingly, that "we may have to interpret any given year of such an era as an expired year whether it is expressly denoted as such or not" (p. 128 ll. 30-31), and gives an instance in a foot note. But by "such an era" he means an era used for astronomical purposes, i. e., in the present case, the Śaka era, and asserts that the "rule does not hold good in the case of eras that are not actually used for astronomical processes," and says that the Vikrama era is such an era, (ib.). But in the very next sentence he admits so much at least that "the expired years of this era might be quoted" and actually gives three instances; and all that he claims for the supposition on which his whole speculation about the Gupta dates—which occupies by far the greater portion of his Introduction—is based, is that "occasionally at least, the current years were used." Mr. Fleet goes on to say, "such an era, again, is the Gupta Valabhi era," and declares that in the absence of a word meaning "expired" it is only reasonable that we should interpret passages giving dates as denoting a current year.

What, then, all this comes to is this:—The expired years of an era whether used for astronomical purposes or not might be quoted in dates; but in the case of the latter a word expressive of "expired" must be used; if not, the year is to be taken as current; while in the case of the former, i. e., an era used for astronomical calculation, such a word is not necessary. The grounds of this distinction Mr. Fleet does not give, and it is proved to be simply imaginary by the fact pointed out by Mr. Fleet himself (p. 86, note 3) that the Vikrama year 1320 in Col. Tod's Veraval inscription is an

¹ Ante, p. p. 186 ff. [N. B. U.]

expired year, though there is no expression there which means "expired."

If then a date in the non-astronomical Vikrama era does sometimes denote an expired year whether it is expressly so stated or not, why may we not take the same to be true of the non-astronomical Gupta Valabhi era? And what has the fact of the use of an era for astronomical purposes to do with the occurrences of expired years in the dates given in Inscriptions and books? I see no reason whatever why, if astronomers use an era and construct their rules and tables on the basis of an expired year, ordinary people also should give their dates in expired years. And why should astronomers themselves use that as the basis of their rules? If calculations have to be made by taking completed years, surely the results may be made applicable to the current year, and given as astronomical facts belonging to that year. Do not the Christian astronomers do so? There is nothing in the nature of astronomy to lead to such a result.

The fact is that the use of a past Śaka year instead of a current one was brought about by the Hindu's usual way of looking at a date stated above; and it was rather transferred to astronomy from ordinary usage than borrowed from astronomy. And the usage has been found to hold in the case of Vikrama dates whether a word meaning 'expired' occurs or not, though this era is not used for astronomical purposes. Thus then the usage proved by me with reference to the Śaka dates and now shown to hold in the case of Vikrama dates, must be regarded as applicable to Gupta dates also, and we must expect to find them mostly as expired years, and sometimes as current years.

Again, Alberuni's equation is, Śaka 953 corresponds to Gupta 712, i. e. we have to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date. We have seen that the addition of 241 in three at least of the above dates, and in the four dates of the twelve-year style gives us an expired Śaka year. Hence Alberuni's Śaka 953 must be an expired year, a fact which is also proved by the corresponding date in one of the other eras given by him; and on Mr. Fleet's theory, his Gupta 712 must be a current year. Now it does not at all look likely that in giving

the equivalent dates, he should give the expired year of the Śaka and the current year of the Gupta.

Again, when he states that the epoch of the Valabhi or Gupta era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era, ought we to understand him to say that the current year 0 of the Gupta era, i. e. the year before the commencement of the era was 241 years later than the expired year 0 of the Śaka, i. e. the first current year of that era, and make 241 Śaka expired and 242 current to correspond with 0 Gupta current and 242 and 243 respectively with 1 Gupta current? Is it not proper to interpret him as meaning that the epoch of the Gupta era, i. e. 0 Gupta current, is 241 year later than the epoch of the Śaka era, i. e. 0 Śaka current, and take 241 Śaka current and 240 expired to correspond with Gupta 0 current and 242 and 241 respectively with 1 Gupta current? According to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it, the difference between a current, or expired Gupta year and the corresponding current or expired Śaka is 242, Alberuni's equation 241 being applicable to those cases only in which one is expired and the other is current, while according to my interpretation the difference is 241, i. e., the number given by Alberuni. Again, my way of taking it harmonizes with M. Reinaud's translation "the era of the Guptas also commences the year 241 of the era of the Śaka," which means that 241 Śaka past is 1 current of the Gupta era or 0 past, while Mr. Fleet's is quite opposed to it as according to him Gupta 1 current corresponds to 242 Śaka past.

Again, the roundabout way of arriving at the date of the destruction of Somnath mentioned by Alberuni proves nothing. The year 242 to which the years of passed centenniums have to be added may be the epoch year of the centennium. Thus, then, it is reasonable and natural to understand Alberuni, from all he has said, to mean that 241 have to be added to an expired or current Gupta to arrive at the corresponding expired or current Śaka.

But the date in the Morvi plate is almost fatal to Mr. Fleet's conjecture. It is put down as 585 expired and corresponds, as determined from the solar eclipse mentioned in the grant, to 826

Śaka expired. Thus we have here to add 241 to this expired year of the Gupta era, to arrive at the corresponding expired Śaka year; while since Mr. Fleet adds 241 current Gupta year to arrive at it, he will have to add 242 in this case. The Gupta date will thus, according to his view, be equivalent to Śaka 827 past. But in that year also there was a solar eclipse. This occurred on the new moon day of Vaisākha according to the Southern scheme or of Jyestha according to the Northern, in the Śaka year 827 expired and 828 current. The grant was executed on the bright half of Phālguna in the same Gupta year 585, which of course must, like that given above, be an expired year; so that according to Mr. Fleet's view the charter was issued nine months and four days after the religious gift had been made. But if we take the solar eclipse of 826 expired and 827 current to be the one alluded to in the grant, it occurred on the new moon day of Kārttika according to the Southern and of Mārgasīrsa according to the Northern scheme, and thus the charter was issued three months and four days after the religious gift. This therefore is much more likely to be the eclipse mentioned in the grant, and if so, we have to add 241 to an expired not current—Gupta year to arrive at the corresponding Śaka expired.¹

Mr. Fleet makes every endeavour to throw discredit on this date. The eclipse of Śaka 826 expired he considers to be not as satisfactory as that of 827 expired, because on that occasion only the twenty-fifth part of the Sun's disc was obscured at Morvi, while on this, one ninth. But the religious significance of it, which alone led the king to make his grant, is the same for all solar eclipses, whatever the extent of the obscuration. So that this consideration has no force whatever in the decision of the question.

Again, in three different places in his book he discusses in detail the reading Gaupṭe and the grammar and sense of the

1 The eclipse adopted by Mr. Fleet was the only one found for me by the late Prof. K. L. Chhatre, when I wrote my note. Though of course a general agreement of the details in the dates with Alberuni's equation, which had been discredited by some previous writers, was alone what I wanted to establish, and that object was served by Prof. Chhatre's eclipse, still I found it very inconvenient, and have therefore expressed myself very hypothetically about its bearing on the point.

word (p. 21, 97ff. Intro. and p. 58). He finds that in the facsimile of the Morvi plate published in the Indian Antiquary, one stroke on the top of the letter g in the word Gaupte is wanting, so that he reads it Gopte. Now I have no definite recollection whether when I read the plate I found this stroke ; but I think it did exist there, for I had no difficulty whatsoever in making out the word Gaupte, just as I had none in making out the word paurvva the p of which has two strokes in the ninth line. The very small stroke which makes au of o may have dropped away in the facsimile. In fact, the probability that it existed is very great, amounting almost to a certainty, since my corrections I have enclosed within brackets, and if Gaupte had been a correction for Gopte, I should have enclosed it similarly. In the third line the stroke is also wanting on the letter n of Svarbbhānau and also the upper stroke representing r. However, for the present there is no help, and we must take the word as Mr. Fleet would have it and read it as Gopte. But it stands to reason, even supposing that to be the true reading of the plate, that it could be meant for nothing else but Gaupte. Mr. Fleet thinks that it may have been intended for Goptre 'to the protector,' i. e., 'the local governor' and this he thinks is 'even more sustainable' (p. 2 , Intr. and p. 58 note). So then, according to Mr. Fleet, this grant of land was made to the governor of the province and not to the Brahmans of the Maitrāyanīya Śākhā mentioned above as the grantees. Was he to perform the religious ceremonies for which it was given ?

Or Gopte may be the name of a village, he thinks ; and the sense then would be "the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gopta." But has he seen such charters spoken of as having been given at villages without some such expression as that the king was at that time residing in the village ? Besides we should in such a case expect the word Grāma 'village' affixed to Gopta. This village Mr. Fleet identifies with Gop which he says is the name of a village in Kathiawar. Gopta according to him "may quite reasonably be taken as the ancient form of the modern Gop." (p. 58 Note). But ancient Gopta must by the rules of Prakrit philology be changed to Got̄a and not Gop, or according to a more modern process, to Gopat, Gopit or Goput ; but as the Gujaratis have a predilection for a. it must become Gopat.

Again, Mr. Fleet says:—(1) “Even then (i. e., when we correct Gopte to Gaupte), the adjective Gaupte occupies an irregularly detached place, which any skilful composer would have avoided, from the noun, Satapañcāke, which it qualifies (p. 98, l. 8ff.). (2) ‘But even then the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, pañcāka, which it qualifies.’” (p. 21, II. 23-24). If Mr. Fleet’s criticism is just, all our great Sanskrit authors will have to be considered unskilful composers. The sloka is

Pañcāśityā yute’ tite Samānāīn Satapañcāke !
Gaupte dadāvado * * * * ||

What Mr. Fleet means to say is that if you have an adjective at the beginning of the second half of a Sloka, while the substantive which it qualifies is at the end of the first half, it is an irregularly detached place which any skilful composer will avoid ; and if the substantive is further off it is of course worse. But in the Bhagavadgītā we have

* * * mahatim camūn !
Vyūdhām Drupadaputrena &c. || I. 3 ;
* * * Prakṛtim viddhi me parām !
Jīvabhūtām Mahābāho &c. || vii. 5.

In Manu we have

Esa vo'bhihitō dharmo brāhmaṇasya caturvidhah !
Punyo' kṣayaphalāḥ &c. || VI. 97 ;
Āptāḥ sarvesu varnesu kāryāḥ karyesu Sāksināḥ !
Sarvadharmanido' lubdhiāḥ &c. || VIII. 67

In Kālidāsa’s Raghuvamśa we have

* * patyuh prāgvamīśavāśināḥ !
Ananyajāneḥ saivāśid &c. || XV. 61 ;
Sa dadarśa taponidhim ! anvāśitam Arundhatyā &c. || 1-56.

And instances might be multiplied to any extent. Mr. Fleet’s objection therefore is simply imaginary. If arguments such as these are allowable, what is there to prevent their being used against the reading Gaupte also, supposing we were to find the plate again and actually to see the word there. Even as against that you might say that the adjective is in an irregularly detached place and that Gaupte must be the name of a village.

In spite, however, of criticism of this nature, there can be no question that the date of the Morvi grant as a Gupta date is as reliable as any of the others given above, and as it is more reasonable to take the eclipse therein mentioned as the one that occurred in Śaka 826 expired than as that of 827 expired, it shows that we have to add 241 to a completed—not current—Gupta year to arrive at the corresponding complete Śaka year, and that Mr. Fleet's theory has no basis whatever to stand on.

The third of the above dates, 927 Valabhi, corresponds, according to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, to 1167 Śaka expired. Here we have to add 240 to the Gupta Valabhi year instead of 241 and the date presents a serious difficulty. Mr. Fleet has shown that the Gupta Valabhi year did not begin on the first of Kārttika or Mārgaśīrṣa¹ and takes the 1st of Caitra as its initial date like that of the Śaka year, and it is to a current year according to that reckoning that we have to add 241 to convert it into the corresponding Śaka year completed. But the Gupta Valabhi year in this Inscription, he thinks, began like the Southern Vikrama year, with the first of Kārttika. The month given in the Inscription is Phālguna which is one of the months that follow Kārttika. The year of the Inscription he supposes became 927 on the 1st of Kārttika; and before that it was 926 (and would have

1 Mr. Fleet proves the point with reference to these two months only from the initial dates of some of the cyclic years. But it can be proved generally that the Gupta and the Śaka year began in the same month or the same day more easily. When the years of two eras do not begin on the same day, we have to add a certain number to the year expressed in one during one part of the year to convert it to the corresponding year of the other, and add the same number increased by one during the other part. Thus Śaka 1810 on this side of the country had 78 added to it from 1st Caitra to about the end of Mārgaśīrṣa and 79 thereafter up to the end of Phālguna to convert it to the corresponding Christian year. The day in the Eraṇ Gupta date is Āśāḍha, ś. 13, in that of Veraval, Āśāḍha kr. 13, in those with the cyclic years, Kārttika ś. 3, Caitra ś. 2, Māgha kr. 3, and Caitra ś. 13, and the Morvi grant, Phālguna ś. 5; and in all these cases we have to add 241 to convert the year to the corresponding Śaka past and not 242 in any case upto the 12th month from Caitra. Hence the Gupta and the Śaka years began in the same month, and since we have Caitra ś. 2 in one case and Chaitra ś. 13 in another, on the same day, as the Śaka year begins on the 1st of Caitra.

continued to be 926,) till Phālguna had it not been for this Southern reckoning. With this 926 we have no difficulty, for by adding 241 to it we get 1167. But in the other Veraval Inscription of Valabhi 945 the reckoning is according to Mr. Fleet himself distinctly Northern, that is, the Gupta Valabhi year there given was one that began like the Śaka on the 1st of Caitra. How is it possible then that at the same place about 18 years before, the southern Vikrama scheme should have been applied to the Gupta Valabhi date of this Inscription ?

Mr. Fleet answers the question by saying, "the explanation, however is perhaps to be found in the supposition that the Inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from Gujarat, who had brought a Gujarat almanac with him." That is supposing too much indeed, to save a theory. The Inscription was prepared under the direction of (1) a pilgrim, (2) a pilgrim from Gujarat, and moreover (3) a pilgrim who had brought a Gujarat almanac ! We have no right whatever to make any one of these suppositions without a particle of evidence to support it, much less the three together.

According to my view, the discrepancy in the date can easily be reconciled. I have shown in my second note and mentioned above, that though dates are very often given in completed years, still sometimes they are given in current years. If in accordance with the evidence of this usage we suppose that 927 was the current year, the expired year is 926 ; and by adding 241 to it we get the corresponding year 1167 expired, arrived at by the astronomical calculation. This explanation will not agree with Mr. Fleet's theory ; for he adds 241 to a current Gupta-Valabhi to arrive at a completed Śaka. Here then, there is another piece of evidence that favours my view and goes entirely against Mr. Fleet's view.

The same is the case with the fourth date. Valabhi 330 + 240 = 570. Mr. Fleet has to suppose a change of the original reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhi year and make it begin in this case on the 1st of Kārttika. But if we take 330 as the current year, 329 as the completed year, we have $329 + 241 = 570$, where we apply Alberuni's equation.

The question then stands thus:—We have to add 241, the equation given by Alberuni, to the date-years in Inscriptions Nos. 1, 2 and 5, and in the four in which Sāṁvatsaras of the twelve year cycle occur, to convert them to the corresponding completed Śaka year arrived at by the astronomical calculation. Mr. Fleet says the years in the Inscriptions are current, and the reason is that it is natural they should be so. My view is that they are expired years, and the reasons are :—

1st, the Hindu's usual, but not invariable, idea of a date;

2nd, the usage proved by me formerly for the Śaka dates and now for the Vikrama dates, though this era is not used for astronomical processes;

3rd, the unlikelihood of Alberuni's using the expired year in giving the Śaka date, and the current year in giving the corresponding Gupta date, and the proper interpretation of Alberuni's statement;

4th, the eclipse mentioned in the Morvi grant when identified with that of 826 Śaka expired confirms my view and disproves Mr. Fleet's. If, however, it is identified with that of 827 Śaka expired, it strengthens Mr. Fleet's view and weakens mine, but cannot disprove it against the mass of other positive evidence. And my identification is more reasonable and natural, since in that case the interval between the gift and the issuing of the charter is three months and four days, while it is nine months and four days according to Mr. Fleet's identification.

5th, the date No. 3 above admits of an easy explanation in harmony with known usage according to my theory; according to Mr. Fleet's theory most improbable suppositions have to be made. The same is the case with date No. 4.

Thus, the whole weight of the evidence is decidedly in my favour; and thus the Gupta year to which we add 241 to arrive at an expired Śaka year is a past year, i. e., THE ADDITION OF 241 TURNS A PAST GUPTA INTO A PAST ŚAKA AND A CURRENT GUPTA INTO A CURRENT ŚAKA. And thus Gupta 0 expired, i. e., 1 current, corresponds to Śaka 241 expired and 242 current; and the year previous to Gupta 0 expired or 1 current corresponds to Śaka 240 expired i. e., 241 current; and thus the EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA

is 318-19 A. D. and NOT 319-20 A. D. as determined by Mr. Fleet, and its first year was 319-20 A. D.

Mr. Fleet claims for his Mandasor Inscription "the final settlement of the question" of the initial date of the Gupta-Valabhi era. I am of opinion that if Alberuni's statement and Colonel Tod's Veraval Inscription do not settle it, the Mandasor Inscription cannot. For the date 493 occurring in that Inscription is referred to the event of the Ganasthiti of the Malavas. What this event was exactly and when it took place we do not know. In that unknown year 493, reigned Kumāragupta as a paramount sovereign. His average date is 113 of an unknown era, so that the equation is $113 \pm x$ (years of the Christian era) = $493 \pm y$ (years of the Christian era), that is, we have to determine the value of one unknown quantity, by means of another unknown quantity which cannot be done. If, however, we know the value of x , i. e., the epoch of the Gupta era, we shall from that determine that of y , i. e., the epoch of the Mālava era, and vice versa.

Dr. Peterson, referring to Oldenberg and myself, held it to be already certain that the Gupta era began in 319 A. D. and arrived therefore at the conclusion that the Mālava era was the Vikrama era.¹ Mr. Fleet assumes the truth of the latter and arrives from it at the epoch of the former (p. 125, Intr.). But if we do not know either we can come to no conclusion. However, so much can be said in favour of Mr. Fleet's view, that of the hypothetical proposition 'if the Malava era is the Vikrama era, then the Gupta era began about 319 A. D.', the antecedent clause is probably true. Thus the Mandasor Inscription, at the most, adds to the probability of the statement that the Gupta era began in 319-320, but cannot confer certainly on it, if it did not possess it before, i. e., cannot finally settle the question. It is settled by the statement of Alberuni and by Colonel Tod's Inscription, and the details in some of the

¹ It is hardly fair to Dr. Peterson that Mr. Fleet should have made no allusion whatever to the fact that he (Dr. Peterson) had read the Mandasor Inscription before him, and had quoted the verse in which the date is given showing that we have in it a Vikrama date before 544 A. D., and that Fergusson's theory must be abandoned,

other Inscriptions confirm the conclusion arrived at therefrom, that is, are consistent with it and do not go against it.

But Alberuni's authority had been set aside and the information given by Colonel Tod's Inscription had been misconstrued; and the current of opinion that had set in against the true epoch of the era as derived from these two sources was so strong that many scholars had come to believe that the initial date 166-67 A. D. assigned to the era by General Cunningham was true. I therefore endeavoured in my note on the Gupta era to draw attention again to these two sources, and show how the question was not left doubtful at all by them, and how the information derived from them was consistent with all that we knew about the Gupta and the other dynasties of the early centuries of the Christian era. The details of the dates in some of the Inscriptions I went into, only with the object of showing that they were not opposed to the information derived from Alberuni and the Veraval Inscription. I used General Cunningham's Tables of the years of the twelve year cycle; and though in two of the four cases, and in one more with a corrected date, I arrived at the conclusion wanted, still I forgot that the Christian years in General Cunningham's tables were arrived at by uniformly adding 78 to an expired Saka year, while I added 79 because it suited the purpose. General Cunningham's Tables, I find, do not give the cyclic years mentioned in the four Inscriptions.

Mr. Fleet has gone fully into the details of all the Inscriptions with the assistance of the competent and zealous Hindu astronomer, Mr. Shankar B. Dikshit, and has materially contributed to the elucidation of the question, by bringing together and verifying the whole evidence; and though I can not agree with him in several of his conclusions, or approve of his treatment of the most vital matters, still the materials that he has placed before us deserve our acknowledgment. I must, however, observe with reference to Mr. Dikshit's theory of cyclic years reckoned from one helical rising of Jupiter to another with unequal divisions of the Nakshatras, that though it agrees with the four Inscriptions and gives the correct Sainvatsaras, still it is a question whether an astronomical year of 400 days that did not correspond with the usual luni-solar year, could have been used for the purposes of recording dates by ordinary people.

A NOTE ON DR. FLEET'S TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION
OF THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION.

In connection with the examination of the claims of the Mandasor Inscription I have had to read Mr. Fleet's transcript and translation of it and find the following errors and omissions in both :—

P. 84, ll. 5-6 of translation—Mr. Fleet translates शापप्रसादक्षमः by “able to counteract curses.” Now this is one adjective of मूर्तिम् or ‘saints’ who are spoken of as “rich in strict religious austerities” (तीव्रतपोद्धर्म्). To such it is usual in Sanskrit literature and according to Hindu ideas to attribute the power of injuring or destroying one by a curse, and doing good by benedictions. The simple power of counteracting a curse is too low for them. Hence the proper translation is “able to curse and confer favours” ‘able to injure by a curse and confer favours by a blessing.’

P. 84. ll. 25-26. We have here “decorative ear ornaments,” which is a translation of मण्डवन्स taken as in apposition with नर in the compound पृष्ठावन्नप्रतस्मण्डवन्सकाया: which qualifies भूम्. Ear ornaments are always decorative and it involves a tautology to call them decorative again. Besides, though the Dictionaries give “ornament” as one of the senses of मण्ड, still it is not the usual sense of the word. मण्डन is what we find in that sense. On looking into the photolithograph of the Inscription I find that मण्ड must be read as नरण्ड. The letter which Mr. Fleet reads as न is more like the last letter in the third line of the Inscription and thirteenth in the seventh line, each of which is र. The upper vertical stroke to the right hand of the loop of the letter looks far different from the real न which we have in many places. नरण्ड is an expression that frequently occurs and means ‘a collections of trees;’ so that the whole expression means ‘which has for ear ornaments, the collection of trees weighed down with flowers.’

P. 85, ll. 8ff. Mr. Fleet here translates “other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of Kailāsa, * * (and) being adorned with groves of waving plaintain-trees.” Being curious to know, when I first read it, what these long buildings on the roofs of the

houses, adorned with groves of waving plaintain-trees could be, I turned to the transcript and found that here Mr. Fleet has mis-translated the expression दीर्घवलभानि which occurs in the half-stanza केलासतुंगशिरवप्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभान्ति दीर्घवलभानि संवैदिकानि at the end of the sixth line of the Inscription. He takes दीर्घवलभानि as a Karmadhāraya, अन्यानि as an adjective qualifying it, and makes it the nominative of the word आभान्ति. But वलभि is feminine, never neuter; and still it is so here according to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it. Besides, when अन्यानि is connected with the long Valabhis, the question arises why does he speak of these long buildings on the roofs of houses as 'other'. Did he speak of them in the last Sloka? No. दीर्घवलभानि should be taken as a Bahuvrīhi meaning दीर्घा वलभया यासु those 'in which there are long rooms on the roof,' and construed as an adjective of यृहाणि occurring in the last stanza, and to be understood or supplied here in connection with the word अन्यानि. And so we have, 'And other (houses) having long rooms on the roofs are beautiful, &c. being adorned with groves of waving plaintain-trees.' वलभि is, according to Jagaddhara, संधोपार्कुटि 'a room on the top of a palace,' such a one as that from the window of which Mālatī used to see Mādhava passing by the road below. The groves of waving plaintain trees were thus not in the rooms on the roof but in the houses which had these rooms.

P. 85, ll. 19-20. The word शुद्धि in ll. 2-3, p. 82 (transcript) has not been translated. Freedom "from the excitement of surprise" was according to Mr. Fleet's translation, one of the virtues of the Brahmans of Daśapura. Similarly, "being never carried away by " astonishment " was a virtue in Bandhuvarman, l. 20, p. 86. Now, freedom from surprise or astonishment is never found in the catalogue of the possible virtues of a hero; but freedom from arrogance or humility is; and the word translated by Mr. Fleet as "surprise" in one place and "astonishment" in another is स्मितैः in the one case, and स्मय in the other. He would have found from any ordinary Dictionary that स्मय means 'pride' or 'arrogance' also, and that is its usual sense. Has Mr. Fleet not seen at all the first line of the second or opening stanza of Bhartrhari's Vairāgya Śataka चाद्राणे मनसरप्रस्ताः प्रभवः स्मयदूषिताः ?

P. 85 l. 24. Here Mr. Fleet in his translation speaks of the

science of archery as pleasing to the ear. Though he supplies "in which the twanging of the bow is", between "archery" and "pleasing" still this is by no means proper and cannot be. In the transcript Mr. Fleet's reading of the line with his corrections is श्रवणसुभगं शान्तवृद्धं दृढं परिनिष्ठिनाः; and his translation "Some of them (became) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery pleasing to the ear". Here Mr. Fleet supplies the Anusvāra on ग the आ in था, and Anusvāra on य, and thus brings in an accusative which is not governed by anything and is therefore ungrammatical. What is stated in the stanza is that some of the emigrants to Daśapura devoted themselves to a certain calling, some to another, and so on. In this line as read by Mr. Fleet there is no word which expresses 'some'. Still he begins his translation of it by "some of them" without enclosing the expression within brackets to show that it is supplied by him. Without such an expression the line looks awkward; and it cannot be supplied or understood by the rules of grammar. All these difficulties, however, disappear when we have the true reading of the original Inscription before us. That true reading is श्रवणसुभगं गान्धव्यं दृढं परिनिष्ठिनाः. The सु of सुभगं is not distinct. Mr. Fleet's य is distinctly न्य in the photograph, and the left hand stroke representing ए is also visible though it is not distinct; so that this is न्य. What he reads as था is distinctly ग्नि with the आ traceable though not distinct; his रु is distinctly न्य; and his व्र्त्ति is व्र्त्ति, the second stroke necessary for व्र्त्ति being wanting. The ए on ग is not distinct, but it must have originally existed in the little white space above which represents a flaw in the stone. If we compare the present word with गान्धव्य which occurs in the beginning of the seventh line and which Mr. Fleet has read properly, we shall have no doubt whatever that the true reading is that given by me. And now the sense is also right, for it is this—"Some were thoroughly conversant with Music (the art of Gandharvas) which is agreeable to the ear".

P. 85, l. 31. Being "possessed of charming wives" appears in Mr. Fleet's translation as one of the excellences of some of the settlers in Daśapura, along with wisdom and famous lineage. This could scarcely be an excellence in them, at least it is not so, according to Indian notions. Besides मनोऽन्यथाः which is Mr. Fleet's

reading is quite ungrammatical. As a Bahuvrīhi adjective qualifying अन्ये it ought to be मनोज्ञवस्तुकाः by Pāṇini V. 4. 153. This reading therefore is not correct. But the word is illegible in the copy of the Inscription; and I cannot say for certain what it must be. It may be मनोज्ञवपुः: 'having charming bodies or forms' or मनोज्ञविभवाः: 'possessed of pleasing prosperity'. The former is more probable.

P. 85, ll. 36-37. मृदुभिः in the second Pāda and the whole third Pāda स्वकूलतिलकभूतेमूर्कगाँगरुदांगः। of a stanza in line 11 of the Inscription have not been translated.

P. 86, l. 13. Here we have "who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and distressed." Virtue consists in fulfilling one's promise to every body, and not to persons in certain conditions only. Besides, it is not the fulfilment of a promise made to them that we should expect to find spoken of in connection with the miserable and the afflicted. Mr. Fleet's reading which he thus translates is उपर्णान्तवार्गमन्वयापदे. He does not find the आ of सन्धा in the original, but supplies it. सन्धापद cannot mean "he who fulfils his promise." If it is a Sanskrit expression at all, it can only mean 'one who gives promises.' So that there is clearly some mistake here. If now we turn to the copy of the Inscription, we shall find clearly न्व for Mr. Fleet's न्ध; so that the word is सान्त्व. सान्त्वपद is 'one who brings solace,' so that what the prince did was 'to bring solace to the miserable and the afflicted.'

P. 86, ll. 32-33. Mr. Fleet reads in line 17 of the Inscription, गमासनाथरच्चने as an adjective of कालं. As such the expression is unintelligible. For, 'it being necessary to take it as a Bahuvrīhi, it can only be dissolved as गमाभिः सनाथ रचना यस्मिन् i.e. 'that in which a [certain] arrangement or system is accompanied by women.' This means nothing. What arrangement can that be? What Mr. Fleet reads as च is clearly त्. त् is supplied by him as the letter is effaced in the original, but, certainly we can as well supply ष and read the expression गमासनाथभवते i. e., 'that [time] in which there are lovely women in the house,' i. e. when there is no separation between husband and wife.

Mr. Fleet translates the next expression इग्मास्कर्गात्मवहिप्रतापसुभगे by "which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the

rays of the sun (shining) in the glens." Is the sun agreeably warm in the cold weather in the glens only, and nowhere else? Why should the word 'glens' be used then? The fact is Mr. Fleet forgets that द्रा means ईष्ट् 'little,' 'in a small degree,' 'moderate.' The sense of the expression will thus be 'which is agreeable with the moderated heat of the fire of the rays of the sun.' And that the heat is moderated in the cold weather everybody knows.

P. 87, ll. 9-10. Mr. Fleet speaks here of "the close embrace of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (their) mistresses, completely under the influence of love". So, then, the breasts of young men were bulky, plump, and beautiful! Acquaintance with the descriptive manners and ideas of Sanskrit authors is not necessary to enable one to see that there is something wrong here. But if he does possess that, he will at once see that this must be a description of women and not of men as well. The original expression is स्मरवशागनरुणजनवल्लभाङ्गनाविपुलकान्तर्पिनोरुस्तनजघनालिङ्गन, which is equivalent to स्मरवशागा ये तरुणजनार्द्देवल्लभाश्र ता अङ्गनाश्र तासा विपुलकान्तर्पिनान्युरुस्तनजघनानि तेषां घनमालिङ्गनम् । It is the young men who are "completely under the influence of love", and it is they who embrace the thighs, breasts and hips, of their beloved wives, which are bulky, beautiful, and plump. In पीरोरु, the latter part must be taken as करु meaning 'a thigh', and not उरु in the sense of 'bulky,' as Mr. Fleet takes it. You have thus three limbs spoken of, those which are principally the object of description in the case of women, and there are three adjectives to qualify them, to be taken in order. Or the three adjectives might be taken as qualifying each one of the three limbs.

I must here complain that a good many photo-lithographs of the Inscriptions in Mr. Fleet's Volume are illegible and consequently of little use to scholars who wish to examine the Inscriptions for themselves.

NOTE.

Since the preceding pages were ready for the Press, I had occasion to look into my old papers, when unexpectedly I found two impressions of the Morvi plate taken by Dr. Burgess by beating

a slip of thin and soft paper, a little moistened, into the letters by means of a small brush. In these impressions, I do find an indentation on the left hand side of π , which is the twelfth letter in the fourth line from the bottom, and a small faintly indented curve connecting it with the upper left hand side flourish of the letter, showing that the second stroke necessary for the syllable गी did exist in the plate. There is thus no question whatever that the true reading is गीसे. As the original plate is not forth-coming, I have asked Dr. Peterson to take charge of these impressions as Secretary to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and deposit them in the Society's Museum, where they will be available for inspection.

A SECOND NOTE ON THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume XLII, 1913, pp. 199f.]

In my article on the epoch of the Gupta era published in Jour. Bom. As. Soc., Vol. XVII¹, I have stated, "the date 493 occurring in that (Mandasor) Inscription is referred to the event of the Ganasthiti of the Mālavas. What this event was exactly and when it took place we do not know." The impression of a new Inscription recently discovered at Mandasor, prepared by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Archaeological Department and shown to me by him, enables me to make a contribution towards an elucidation of the point. The verse giving the date is thus worded:—

भामालवगणान्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंजिने ।
एकमश्चयधिके प्राप्ते समानानन्दतरुष्ये ॥

The translation is:—"the excellent quaternion of hundreds of years increased by sixty-one laid down authoritatively by the Mālava-gana and named Kṛta having arrived." The word Āmnāta means 'laid down'—authoritatively of course,—since what is Āmnāta is to be treated with respect and scrupulously followed. In समान्नायः समान्नानः the sense is : the Samāmnāya (Nighantus or thesaurii) has been laid down (Nirukta I. 1). Similarly we are told in I. 20, that the later Rsis 'samāmnāsiḥ,' i. e, laid down authoritatively or composed this work, and the Vedas and the subordinate treatises. In साक्षात्तेभ्यान्नानात् (Vedāntasūtra 1. 4. 25) Āmnāta has the same sense. In the present case, therefore, the sense is : the year 461 has arrived which has been laid down authoritatively by the Gana of the Mālavas. This authoritative laying down cannot be predicated of this one year only but of all previous and subsequent years. If these years were laid down by the Gana, they must either be so by their having composed a long list, or directed that the years following a certain event should be

1 Now included in this Volume earlier, at pp. 384 ff. The quotation would be found on p. 398 ante.—[N. B. U.]

ordinally numbered. Since a list must go on ad infinitum, i. e., be interminable, the former supposition cannot be accepted. The Gaṇa of the Mālavas, therefore, must be supposed to have directed the use of an era beginning with a certain specific event. What must be the specific event? Light is thrown on this point by the following verse in Yaśodharman's Inscription at Mandasor :—

पञ्चमु शन्त्यु शगदां यानेष्वकान्नविस्थितपु ।
मालवगणस्थितिवशात् कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ॥

“ Five hundred and eighty-nine years written down for the purpose of knowing the time in consequence (ablative) of the moment [moving cause or impelling force (Vaśa)] of the condition as a Gaṇa or compact political body of the Mālavas having elapsed.” That the word Vaśa should be understood as the moment or impelling cause is confirmed by the manner in which the date is given in Bandhuvarman's Mandasor Inscription. The words are :—

मालवानां गणस्थित्या यां शन्त्युष्टं ।
विनवन्यधिकं ज्ञानाद् ॥

The sense is : “ four hundred and ninety-three years having elapsed since the condition (i. e., formation) of the Mālavas as a Gaṇa.” Ganasthityā is to be taken as an ablative, the Visarga having been dropped in consequence of the following soft consonant. This then was an era, the impelling cause of which was the Sthiti of the Mālavas as a Gaṇa, that is, it was the era of the formation of the Mālavas as a Gaṇa, i. e., their forming a body corporate or body politic.

The Mālavas were originally a tribe which followed the occupation of fighting. They were soldiers by profession, and could enter any body's service as such, and did not form a Gaṇa or an incorporated society for political and other purposes. Yājñavalkya, speaking of a person who takes away the wealth of a Gaṇa, necessarily implies that a Gaṇa is a corporate community with common property and common interest (II. 187). Occurring side by side in ibid II. 192 with Śrenī a guild, and Naigama or a body of merchants trading with foreign countries, Gaṇa must mean a body corporate of persons following the same occupation such as that of fighting (Vijnāneśvara and Aparārka).

I translate Gaṇasthiti as existence or condition as a Gaṇa. It should be taken as a Karmadhāraya or appositional compound (गणशास्त्रै स्थितिश्च, i. e. गणात्मिका or गणस्त्रा स्थितिः). It cannot be taken as गणस्य स्थितिः. For in Bandhuvarman's Inscription the expression मालवानां गणस्थितिः would in that case involve what is called Ekadesī anvaya, or the latter part would be a Sāpeksa compound, i. e., Mālavānām would have to be connected with gaṇa, i. e., the first or subordinate part of the following compound and not with Sthiti, the principal part, as it should be. When we take the compound as a Karmadhāraya, Mālavānām is to be connected with Sthiti which is the principal noun as qualified by the word Gaṇa.

A Gaṇa or a corporate and political union the Mālavas constituted in B. C. 56, and laid down authoritatively (Āmnāta) that that event should be commemorated by making it the epoch of an era. I now proceed to show by direct evidence what the condition of Mālavas was in ancient times and how it changed subsequently as indicated by the Inscriptions we have gone over.

In an article in this Journal,² Vol. I, p. 23, I have stated that Alexander the Great met in Central and Lower Punjab two tribes of warriors named Malii and Oxydrae. From Pāṇini's Sūtra V. 3. 114, and from the instances given by his commentators, it appears that in the Punjab there existed in ancient times two tribes of the names of Mālavas and Kṣudrakas who are called Āyudhajivins, i. e., sustaining themselves by the use of warlike weapons, in other words, who followed a soldierly profession. Under the Sūtra IV. 2. 45, Patañjali discusses why Kṣudraka and Mālava are included in the group 'Khandikā' and others, and in the course of the discussion, he and the Kāśikā mention that these two tribes belong to the Kṣatriya order—he, impliedly, and Kāśikā expressly. Since the two names occur in the group and as it is reasonable to suppose that the first three words of a group at least come down from Pāṇini himself, Kṣudrakas and Mālavakas were known to Pāṇini himself.

The Mālavas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata also, sometimes among northern peoples (II. 32. 7; III. 51. 26); and sometimes

² That is, the Indian Antiquary.—[N. B. U.]

among Southern, with Dāksinātyas and Āvāntyas (VI. 87. 6-7). It also mentions westerly (Praticya) and northerly (Udīcya) Mālavas (VII. 7. 15; VI. 106. 7). Varāhamihira too places the Mālavas among the Northern peoples inhabiting the Punjab (Br. S. 14. 27). In speaking of a man of the name of Mālavya he represents him to be ruling over Mālava, Bharukaccha, Surāstra, etc. (Br. S. 69. 10-12); so that the Mālava country is here alluded to as occupying the same position as it does in modern times. Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta carries his cloud-messenger over the country now named Malwa but does not give that name; and mentions Daśarnas, Vidiśā, Avantis, Ujjayini, and Daśapura.

So that it is clear that according to these authorities the Mālavas in ancient times lived in the North, that is, in the Punjab and that they subsequently migrated southwards. While in the Punjab, they were simply āyudhajivins or professional soldiers, and do not seem to have formed a political union. Their migration to the south and settlement in the region just to the north of the present Malwa in the modern state of Jaipur is evidenced by a very large number of coins found at Nagar near Tonk. Most of these bear the legend 'Mālavānām jaya' and some 'Mālavaganasya jaya.' The very fact that coins were issued proclaiming the triumph of the Mālavas or the Mālava-gana, shows that at the time when they were issued, the Mālavas had already constituted themselves into a political unit with a regular system of Government. That system appears to have been republican and not monarchical; since the legends on the coins bear the name of the tribe and its Gana. Probably afterwards the names of the leaders of the Republic were engraved on the money that was issued, and perhaps in the course of time, the Republic was succeeded by a Monarchy. The Mālavas gradually moved southwards and gave their name to the whole country now called Malwa.

Another instance of a race moving from the South to the north¹ and giving their name to the countries they occupied from time to time is that of Gūrjaras. They first settled

1 Thus the text. But it is evident that we have to read here "from the North to the South." See immediately below. [N. B. U.]

in Punjab and a district of that Province is called Gujarata to this day. Then they migrated southwards by western Rajaputana which was formerly called Gūrjaratrā or the protector of the Gūrjas. This name, however, that part of the country soon lost, and in the form of Gujarat it was transferred to a southern province which is now called by that name.

The years of the era founded by the Mālava republican body had the name Kṛta given to them according to the new Inscription, and there are two dates at least in which the years are given with the epithet Kṛtesu prefixed to them. In the absence of any specific information we can only suppose that they were called Kṛta, because they were "made or prepared" for marking dates by the Mālava government.

A MEMORANDUM ON SOME ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS
FOUND IN A MOUND AND IN THE BRAHMAPURI
HILL, NEAR KOLHAPUR.

[From the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XIV, 1880, pp. 147ff.]

(The paper was read before the Society on 9th November 1878.)

The stone box found at Kolhapur contained a casket made of crystal. This casket must have contained a relic. Such caskets of relics placed in stone receptacles of various shapes are found in Buddhistic Stūpas or topes in all parts of the country, including Afghanistan. In the topes Nos. 2 and 3 at Sanchi, the receptacles found by General Cunningham were stone boxes of the same shape as the one before us (see his Bhilsa Topes, pp. 286 and 297); while those discovered by him at Manikyal in the Punjab and at Kiyul in Behar had the shape of a Stūpa (see Arch. Reports, vol. II, p. 167, and vol. III, p. 157). The caskets found at Manikyal and in a tope at Sonari, near Bhilsa, were, like the Kolhapur one, made of crystal, those at Kiyul of gold and silver, while those at Sanchi of steatite. The mound, therefore, at Kolhapur, which contained this receptacle of a relic-casket, must have an old Stūpa buried in it about that part where the receptacle was found, and this is confirmed by the fact of the workmen who dug this out having come across some brickwork while they were doing so. The whole mound itself cannot, I think, be the Stūpa; for while the diameter of the mound is about eighty feet, its height is only about eight. Even making allowance for the possibility of the Stūpa's having sunk into the earth, the diameter is out of proportion to the height. Very likely, therefore, along with a Stūpa some other structures, such as Vihāras or chapels and cells for the Buddhist mendicants, of the nature of those found by General Cunningham at Jamalgarhi (Arch. Reports, vol. V, p. 47), are buried in the mound.

The articles found in the Brahmapuri Hill contain amongst them objects of Buddhistic adoration, and also what may be called

the apparatus of Buddhistic worship. We have an image of a Stūpa or Caitya, several circular things which look like prayer-wheels, and a flower or incense pot. Along with these, a number of old copper or lead coins were also found, and of these twenty have been presented to the Society. The metallic vessel which contained these articles was, we are told, found between "two brick walls about eight feet apart." These must be the walls of a hollow parallelopiped, or a well such as was found by General Ventura in the great tope at Manikyal, at a distance of twelve feet from the top. The depth of this well was thirteen feet, and its length and breadth ten; that is, the walls of the well were ten feet apart. At its bottom was found a copper vessel, just like the Kolhapur one, containing coins, a gold ring, and other articles (see Mr. Thomas's ed. of Prinsep, vol. I, pp. 93-96, and Arch. Reports, vol. V, pl. xxii.). I therefore think that the Brahmapuri hill also has a Stūpa buried in it at this place. From the fact that a hoard of coins was found in the vicinity of this some years ago, and from other indications, it appears that the Brahmapuri hill conceals the ruins of an old city. Everywhere in India we find such ruins in the form of mounds or hillocks; and in some places the new cities are built on these hillocks, that is, on the ruins of the old.

If excavations are made in other parts of the mound and the hill at Kolhapur, and deeper diggings at the places where the reliquary box and the copper vessel were found, I have little doubt that traces of ancient buildings and several interesting articles will be found.

The characters on the lid of the casket-receptacle are older than those of the times of the later Āndhrabṛtyas, and are to be referred to the first or second century of the Christian era. The Inscription may be translated: "The gift of Bramha caused to be constructed by Dhamagutta (Dharmagupta)." This must refer to the Stūpa.

The coins sent to us are of two sizes, ten larger and ten smaller. On the obverse of the former we have a bow and an arrow, and round it the following legend गोतमीपुत्रस विदिवायकुरा, "Of the king Gotamiputra Vidivāyakura." The शि appears as सि in some of the specimens. On the reverse we have a Caitya composed of

rows of semi-circles with a tree on the right hand side, a Svastika above, and a pedestal below with a wavy or serpentine line. The Svastika is indistinct on some of the pieces. Of the smaller ones four bear the same legend as the above; but the tree on the reverse is above the Caitya, and the Svastika on the left side. The others bear the same device on the obverse and the reverse, but the legend on three of them is सो वासित्थिपुतस विदिवायकृतः "Of the king Vāsithīputa Vidivāyakura;" on two, सो मधरिपुतस सेवलकृतः "Of the king Madharīputa Sevalakura;" and that on one is imperfect. These coins belong to the same species as those described by Pandit Bhagvanlal in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and by Mr. Thomas in the Indian Antiquary for September 1877. The kings Gotamīputa, Vasithīputa, and Madharīputa belonged to the Āndhrabṛtya or Sātavāhana dynasty, and their names occur on the Inscriptions at Nasik, Kanheri, Nanaghata and Junnar. But the words or names Vidivāyakura and Sevalakura do not occur either in the Inscriptions or on the coins found near Dharanikot, in Tailangana, figured and described by Sir Walter Elliot in the Madras Literary Journal, vol. III, nor on those belonging to the same gentleman and described by Mr. E. Thomas in the paper I have spoken of. The legends on the latter have, after Gotamīputasa, Siriyañña Satakanisa, and after Vāsithīputasa, some letters which certainly must be read as Puṭumavisa. This name occurs independently without the words Vasithīputasa on another coin in the same collection. The device of the Caitya occurs on the obverse of these, but instead of the Svastika we have a crescent on the top, and of the tree, a conch shell; while on the other side we have, instead of the bow and arrow, sometimes a horse, and sometimes four wheels joined by a cross. Clearly, then, the Eastern or Tailangana series is different from the Western or Kolhapur series; and they must have been struck at different mints. As I have shown in my paper on the Nasik Inscriptions, the capital of the Āndhrabṛtya kings was Dhanakatāka, which General Cunningham has identified with Dharanikot, in Tailangana, in the vicinity of which the Eastern coins were found. The Western, therefore, which are somewhat different from them in type, were probably struck on this side of the country.

by the viceroys of those kings deputed to govern these provinces, and the names Vidivāyakura and Sevalakura are probably the names of these viceroys, i. e., the legends bear the names of the kings as well as of their representatives in this part of the country. The number of coins of Gotamīputa is so large that he appears to me to be the later Gotamīputa, whose proper name was Yajñāśrī, and I agree with Pandit Bhagvanlal in thinking that Madharīputa was the son of Pudumayi or Vasithiputa, named Śivaśrī in the Purāṇas.

The following correspondence regarding the place of discovery &c., of these Antiquarian Remains was published in the JBBRAS in a foot-note as a part of this paper.—[N. B. U.]

No. 6686 OF 1877.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, 29th November 1877.

FROM JOHN JARDINE, Esq.

Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay,

TO THE SECRETARY, BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to forward to you herewith copy of a letter from the Political Agent, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country, No. 650, dated the 16th instant, and of its accompaniment, and to intimate that Colonel Schneider has been requested to send to you direct the stone box and the contents referred to by him.

2. The sketch alluded to in para 4 of the State Karbhari's letter is also appended.

I have &c.,
(Signed) JOHN JARDINE
Acting Secretary to Government.

No. 650 OF 1877.

Political Agent's Office,

Kolhapur, 16th November, 1877.

FROM COLONEL F. SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent, Kolhapur and S. M. Country.

TO C. GONNE, Esq.,

Secretary to Government, Bombay.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward the accompanying papers received from the State Karbhari of Kolhapur relating to a stone box found underground in one of the State gardens at Kolhapur, and to request that they may be for-

warded to the Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Bombay for information. The box and the contents will be sent to the Society direct on receipt of Government instructions.

I have &c.,

(Signed) F. SCHNEIDER

Political Agent,

Kolhapur and S. M. Country.

No. 890 OF 1877.

FROM MAHADEO WASUDEO BARVE,

State Karbhari, Kolhapur.

TO COLONEL F. SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent,

Kolhapur and S. M. Country.

Kolhapur, 16th November, 1877.

SIR,—I have the honour to submit a short report on the discovery of a stone box bearing an Inscription in the Māgadhi dialect, and holding in it a small casket made of a transparent stone, or crystal Sphatika, in the Kharala Garden, situated on the eastern slope of the town of Kolhapur. This interesting discovery took place on 27th October, 1877, under the following circumstances.

2. The ground about the little bungalow in the said garden is lately being put into order, and, to make the place even, extra earth was required for filling up the gaps which lay here and there. The convicts who were engaged in preparing the ground were ordered to take the earth for this purpose from a small piece of rising ground which stood uncultivated at the distance of about 350 yards to the east of the bungalow, and which was shaded with a babul-tree grown over it. This rising ground was in the shape of a gently sloping irregular-shaped mound about eighty feet in diameter, its height nowhere exceeding seven or eight feet over the level of the adjoining fields. It was overgrown with grass, and appeared a proper place from whence to take supplies of earth required elsewhere. About a foot beneath the grassy surface, the spade encountered a layer of burnt brick, which excited curiosity. Nothing extraordinary was at first expected, as burnt bricks are often discovered in several places in and about the town, being the remnants of old brick clamps or mounds of ruined brick structure. In the course of digging, the convicts came to what appeared to be a block of stone, which they at once turned up by thrusting a crowbar under it. When it was extricated from the surrounding bricks it was found to be a box consisting of two pieces, one a hollow quadrangular stone trough of soft red laterite, as is found in the bed of the Pañcagangī river here, holding a small transparent crystalline casket within, and the other a lid of the same stone exactly filling the mouth of the trough. But unfortunately the act of extrication proved so violent that before it was discovered to be a box the lid fell off, and the inside transparent casket was thrown out, which broke into

two pieces. Its contents, if at all any, were evidently scattered about and lost, and escaped the sight of those present at the time. The circumstance was reported soon after, and I repaired to the spot and made the necessary inquiries. Some old letters were seen engraved on the inside of the lid, and a facsimile of the Inscription was made and sent to Mr. Bhagvanlal Pandit, of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, who has considerable experience in deciphering old Inscriptions.

3. Mr. Pandit Bhagvanlal is of opinion that the Inscription is in Māgadī characters, and consists of the following words :--

ब्रह्मस दानं धर्मयुतेन कारितं.

From the characters employed, the Inscription appears to be two thousand years old, or even older still, and seems to be a monument of the veneration in which the remains of Buddha were held by his followers long after the Nirvāṇa or decease of their great founder. The Nirvāṇa took place about 500 or 450 before the Christian era, and the remains were buried in four places, namely, (1) Kuśī Nagarā, in the Gorakhpur District, where the dead body was burnt; (2) Gayā Kṣetra, where Buddha received his education; (3) Benares or Kāśī Kṣetra, where he first proclaimed the tenets of his religion; and (4) Kapilavastu, in the Gorakhpur District, where he was born. Splendid tombs were constructed to protect these remains, but in the time of king Aśoka, about 225 years after Buddha, the devotional feeling ran so high, that the remains were taken out of the several tombs, and distributed among the numerous disciples scattered over the whole country. The fortunate receivers of these precious relics, which consisted generally of ashes or bones of the body of Buddha, carefully deposited their invaluable possessions in gold or marble caskets, which were securely placed in stone receptacles prepared for the purpose, the whole being protected by mounds of bricks or stones.

All these circumstances closely correspond with the particulars of the present discovery.

4. I beg to append a sketch of the ground with the bungalow standing on it, and of the mound wherein the box was discovered, also drawings of the box and of the little casket. Perhaps a careful reading of the above by Mr. Bhagvanlal Pandit, or some other gentlemen well versed in deciphering such hieroglyphics and Inscriptions, will throw more light on the subject; and I beg that this brief account may be submitted to Government, that the same may be referred to the Royal Asiatic Society.

5. The stone box and casket are well preserved, and kept here. A careful search was made in the brick mound and the surrounding ground, but nothing of any importance was discovered.

I have &c.

(Signed) MAHADEO WASUDEO BARVE,
State Karbhari, Kolhapur.

No. 7020 OF 1877.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, 18th December, 1877.

FROM JOHN JARDINE, Esq.,

Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay,

To THE SECRETARY, BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor in Council to forward to you herewith a copy of a letter (with accompaniments in original) from the Political Agent, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country, No. 695, dated the 8th instant, together with the parcel of coins and other articles of antiquarian interest therein referred to, and to request that they may be brought to the notice of the President and Members.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN JARDINE,
Acting Secretary to Government.

No. 695 OF 1877.

FROM COLONEL F. SCHNEIDER,

Political Agent, Kolhapur and S. M. Country,

To JOHN JARDINE, Esq.,

Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Political Agent's Office, Kolhapur,

Shiroli, 8th December, 1877.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward the accompanying papers received from the State Karbhari of Kolhapur, regarding the discovery of old coins and other articles of antiquarian interest on the Brahamapuri Hill, near the town of Kolhapur, and to request that they may be forwarded to the Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Bombay for information.

2. The articles alluded to in the Karbhari's report have been sent by parcel post.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. SCHNEIDER,
Political Agent, Kolhapur and S. M. Country.

No. 963 OF 1877.

From MAHADHO WASUDEO BARVE,
State Karbhari, Kolhapur,

To COLONEL F. SCHNEIDER,
Political Agent,

Kolhapur and S. M. Country.

Kolhapur, 6th December, 1877.

SIR.—I have the honour to report the discovery of a copper vessel containing some lead and copper coins, metallic vessels, and articles of various sizes and shapes, and some gold beads and pieces of gold ornaments, which was found buried underground about six feet below the surface of the earth on the top of the Brahmapuri Hill, situated on the north-western side of the town of Kolhapur close to the river Pañcagaṅgā. This treasure of old and interesting antiquities was found under the following circumstances.

2. There is a bridge under construction over this river, and the hill itself forms the eastern abutment side of it. Some cuttings in the hill were made about four years back, to provide easy approaches, and in one of these some lead and copper coins were then discovered, a few of which were at the time sent to the Royal Asiatic Society. For a few days past, some convicts have been at work here, effecting a further cutting for the wing walls of the hill-side abutment pier, and on the 22nd November 1877, in the course of digging, they came to some metallic vessel, which was afterwards carefully unearthed and extricated. The rim of the vessel was sunk inside under the pressure of the earth above it, and the pan had so far corroded, evidently owing to its being embedded in earth for centuries past, that its mouthpiece was found almost separated from the body. In the pan were found the undermentioned articles.—

- (a) Brass or Kāmsa metal vessels of various shapes, such as are to be seen in old Jain temples in connection with idol-worship. Many of them, of the shape of saucers, are very thin and much oxidized and crumbled; others with ornamental mouldings on.
- (b) Several lead and copper coins having impressions on both sides quite like those that were found on the same hill in 1,865 lead, 100 copper. 1873.
- (c) Amongst the mass of earth and coins were found some perforated beads of gold, and pieces of gold ear ornaments well worked up. The metal is found to be superior gold. The beads are composed of twelve concave sides each, and are hollow inside.

3. The digging exposed some old brick work, and the copper pan was lying between two brick walls about eight feet apart, which probably formed part of some building of the time. The top of the hill was, it appears, once inhabited by certain people, which is evident from the brick structures that are discovered here and there. Tradition goes that the place was deserted about seven hundred years ago by the Jains as a place of residence, and the antiquities now found may have been the property of some party who had to give up his house abruptly and leave everything behind. He was probably a brazier, who made castings of such utensils. Some of those now discovered look as if they were simply taken out of the cast moulds and left unfinished. Close by, the pieces of some metallic vessel were unearthed subsequently. The metal is evidently copper, and a few pieces are herewith submitted.

4. I beg to append photographs of some of the vessels and pieces that were found entire, as also of the big pan, all of which were arranged for the purpose on a camp table; also drawings to transfer-linen of the same.

5. I beg also to forward ten coins of each sort, lead and copper, having the best impression on, and four gold beads and two pieces of the gold of the ear ornament. All the remaining articles are retained here for exhibition at the State Museum at the Town Hall.¹

I have, &c.,

(Signed) MAHADEO WASUDEO BARVE.

1 The photographs, plans &c, referred to in this report, are not reproduced here. [N. B. U.]

REMARKS ON THE MERKARA COPPER- PLATE GRANT.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872, pp. 365f.]

The genealogy of the kings of Cera as given in the grant is :—

1. Kongani I.
2. Mādhava I.
3. Hari Varmma.
4. Viṣṇu Gopa.
5. Mādhava II.
6. Kongani II.

These names agree with the 8th to 12th and 15th given by Prof. Dowson from the Tamil chronicle in the Mackenzie Collection. But the fifth in the above list is represented in the chronicle as Viṣṇu Gopa's adopted son, and a very short tenure is assigned to him, for he had to give place to Kṛṣṇa Varmma, a son afterwards born to Viṣṇu Gopa. This Kṛṣṇa Varmma and the next king Dindikāra, son of Kulaṭi Rāya of the family of Viṣṇu Gopa, are not given in the grant. The sixth king Kongani is placed after Dindikāra in the Tamil chronicle, and is mentioned as the son of Kṛṣṇa Varmma's younger sister. As his relationship with any other king of the dynasty is not given, it is to be understood that the Kṛṣṇa Varmma here meant is the one who is represented in the list as the son of Viṣṇu Gopa. But in the grant before us, he is mentioned as the son of Mādhava, represented in the chronicle as the adopted son of Viṣṇu Gopa, and the Kṛṣṇa Varmma whose nephew he was, is spoken of distinctly as "the sun in the sky of the prosperous race of the Kadambas." In this place therefore the grant gives us information, while the chronicle, as appears from the abstract, is silent.

The date of the grant is 388. What era is meant we do not know. The dates in the chronicle are in the Śaka era, from which

it appears likely that this is also to be referred to that era. If so the date is 466 A. D. Krsna Varma of the Kadamba race is very likely the second in Mr. Elliot's list, since there is no other of that name in the list. His date also is thus fixed by this grant to be 466 A. D. or thereabouts. Mr. Elliot assigns to the predecessor of this king the date 500 or 520 Śaka, i. e., 578 or 598 A. D., but his sources of information regarding this dynasty were so scanty that very little faith can be placed in the date.

Prof. Dowson's abstract assigns to Kongani II, the last king in the above list, 288 Śaka, that is, he is placed a hundred years before he actually flourished according to the grant. But whether this is a mistake of the chronicle itself, I cannot say. The accession of the fourth king after Kongani II is represented to have taken place in 461 Śaka. The four kings then beginning with Kongani II reigned according to the chronicle for 173 years, i. e., each reign lasted for 43 years, which is very improbable, since each of them was his predecessor's son. But if 388, the date given in the grant be taken, the duration would be at least 73 years, which would give 18 years to each king. The first date in Prof. Dowson's abstract must therefore be considered to be an error, while the second may be depended on. The Professor considers all the dates to be too early and proposes new ones. But Prof. Lassen inclines to defend the chronology of the chronicle,* which is supported by this grant.

* Lassen (*Alterthumskunde*, II, p. 1017-18) says :—' With reference to the chronology it must be remarked that, besides quoting the years in which grants of land were made by the princes whose acts are narrated, there occurs also mention of the years according to the cycle of sixty years in use in the Deccan, which may be regarded as evidences that the unknown writer of the work in question found a well arranged chronology for the reigns of the kings whose acts he has described. According to the dates of his land-grants, Malladeva, the twenty-eighth king of Cera, reigned in the years 878 and 898; the seventh, Vikramadeva I in the year 178. These dates give a total rule of more than seven hundred and twenty years for twenty-two princes,—for these dates cannot be regarded as the first and last years of the reigns of the two kings. Hence each sovereign would have ruled on an average about thirty-three years, a period which certainly seems inadmissible, because the utmost average length of the reigns of Indian kings amounts only to twenty-five years (Thomas,

JRAS, Vol. XII, p. 36). From this difficulty, we have two ways of escape. The first is by supposing that the reigns of the Cera kings have been lengthened in order to give them a higher antiquity, and starting from the fixed datum of the subjugation of the Cera sovereigns about 900, to shorten the period so that Vikrama I should reign [as Dowson supposes] only in the 6th century. Against this hypothesis it may be observed that in such a case the supposition would have to be made, that the author of the history of these kings had wilfully falsified the numbers of the Inscriptions, or had read them wrongly, which, considering the acknowledged excellency of his work does not appear to me admissible. It should also be remarked further that the contemporary of Vikrama I of Cera, was the Pāṇḍya king Vaiśaṅkara, who probably reigned in the second century [see Wilson, JRAS, Vol. III, p. 215]. I considered it proper therefore to follow a different course and to support the traditional chronology as being upon the whole correct. My reasons for this are as follows:— Of the Bellāla king it has already been noticed [Dowson, in JRAS, Vol. VIII, p. 24], that they reigned on an average nearly 30 years, so that a somewhat longer duration appears admissible in this case. Secondly, it must be remarked that it is true that of the Cera princes only two (the 12th and 14th) had short reigns, and two others (the 11th and 27th) abdicated the throne, but one (the 8th) reigned fifty-one years, and one (the 23rd) was the great grandson of his predecessor, so that to him a tolerably long rule may be allowed. Only against the commencement of the dynasty and against the first date can a valid objection be raised. The 5th king, Govinda, is said to have made a grant of land in the 4th year of the Śakas or in 82 A. D., it may, however, be legitimately doubted whether this chronology had come into use in the Southern districts of India so soon after its establishment. To the insecurity of the chronology of the earliest period of the kings of Cera also, the circumstance that of the fifth it was only known that he was of the same descent as his four predecessors but that his father was not known—bears testimony. We can scarcely go far wrong, however, if we place the rise of the Cera dynasty back in the commencement of our era, because at that time the two adjoining kingdoms of the Pāṇḍyas and Cola already existed.

Lassen's notices of the Cera kings, (both in II, pp. 1017-1020, and IV, pp. 243-245) are founded almost exclusively on Dowson's article above referred to. [This note is by the Editor of the Indian Antiquary. N. B. U.]

A NOTE ON THE GANJAM ROCK INSCRIPTION.

[From the Indian Antiquary, Volume I, 1872 pp. 221f.]

The Ganjam Inscription is in four large tablets, and each of the four sheets of lithographs published by the Madras Government represents one. On comparing them with the published transcripts of the Aśoka Inscriptions, I find that the first two sheets contain the celebrated edicts discovered at Girnar, Dhauli and Kapurdi-Giri. Wherever there are differences in the copies of the Inscriptions from these three places, this agrees, as might be expected, with that at Dhauli. It is much to be regretted that it is worn away in many places; still it will be of use in clearing up some of the many difficulties attending on a correct interpretation of the Aśoka Inscriptions.

The Girnar copy of the edicts consists of fourteen tablets. In the present Inscription, each line of which contains on an average about 52 letters, the first tablet is entire, and occupies four lines and a quarter. The second, of four lines, has lost about 12 letters towards the end in each line. The third extends over three lines and a quarter, but of these nearly one half of each line is effaced. Each of the first five lines of the fourth tablet has lost one-half, while the sixth and seventh have lost more, and in the eighth line, which ends the tablet three words are wanting. What remains of the fifth tablet is from two to seven letters in the beginning of each of the seven lines of which it consists. This ends the first sheet. The sixth tablet at the head of the second sheet is nearly entire, and consists of six lines and three quarters, the seventh occupies two lines, the second of which has got only twenty letters in the middle, but the first is nearly entire, having lost only some two or three letters. Each of the first three lines of the eighth tablet has got a few letters in the beginning, in the middle and at the end. The fourth line ought to consist only of eleven letters, of which we have ten. But the transcriber puts down dots after the tenth letter up to about the end of the line, where he gives the letter Annāyeca, which are the final letters of the first line of the next tablet, and consequently do not belong to the

eighth ; and in the sheet before us they occur at the end of that line also. This may be a mistake either of the original engraver or of the transcriber. The ninth tablet consists of six lines all mutilated ; about one-third only or a little more in one or two cases, being preserved. The tenth tablet has lost the first halves of the three lines composing it. The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth Girnar tablets are wanting both in Dhauli Inscription and in the present one. The fourteenth however, occurs here though apparently it is wanting at Dhauli ; but more than half of each of the two lines, of which it consisted, is effaced.

The Inscriptions in the third and the fourth sheets correspond to the separate edicts at Dhauli translated by Prinsep and after him by M. Burnouf. The readings in these have been so unsatisfactory that the discovery of the same or nearly the same edicts at Ganjam cannot but be welcome to all students of Indian Antiquities. But we fear these sheets will not be of much use in clearing up the difficulties. The letters in them are in many cases ill-formed and imperfect ; for instance, where we ought to have Devānām piye hevamāha,- we had in the third sheet, Devalam piye pevam ha, and in the fourth, Devānam naye hevam anha. The first D in this latter is unlike the usual D or any other known letter. The small strokes which mark the vowels and distinguish, in a few cases, one letter from another are not so carefully copied as is desirable. Mr. Graham says "The third and fourth Inscriptions are regularly wormeaten away, evidently by rain and atmospheric effects. A good deal of the right hand edges of both has been almost totally obliterated with here and there a letter or the suggestion of one remaining." The transcript on the third sheet, however, is more legible than that on the fourth. And with greater care it is perhaps not impossible to obtain still better transcript. It is to be hoped the Madras Government, which has already exhibited so laudable a zeal in this matter, will again attempt to secure better copies.

A TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF THE BUDDHISTIC INSCRIPTION AT GHOSRAWAN.

[From the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Volume XLI, part I (History, Literature &c), 1872, pages 271-74.]

The following Transcript and Translation was published by A. M. Broadley in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in his account of the Buddhistic Remains of Bihar, pp.266ff. Broadley says :—“The village of Ghosrāwan lies exactly six miles to the north-east of the Indrasaila peak at Giryak, eight miles to the east of the great Nālandā monastery and ten miles North-east of the ruins of Rājagrha”. The Inscription was discovered on a “fine piece of black basalt ” to the east of a mound near the ruins of the Ghosrāwan Vihāra and temple. A reading and translation of this Inscription was secured also from Babu Rajendralal Mitra, the famous scholar of Bengal contemporary with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. Rajendralal’s Transcript and Translation appears at pp. 268-271 of the same Journal.

--[N. B. U.]

TRANSCRIPT.

ॐ श्रीमानसौं जर्यात् सत्वाहनप्रवृत्तसन्मानसाधगतव्यनयां
 मुनिन्द्रः । क्लेशात्मना दुरितनकदुरासदान्नः संसारसागरसमुन्त- १
 रणोक्तेतुः ॥ अस्यास्मद्दुरावो बभूवरबलाः संभूय हर्तुं मनः का लज्जा
 यादि केवलो न बलवानस्मि चिलांकप्रभो । इत्यालांचयतं २
 ष मानसभुवा यां दूरतो वर्जितः श्रीमान्वश्वमशेषमेतद्वताद् बाधो
 सवज्ञासनः ॥ अस्त्युत्तरापर्थविभूषणभूतभूमिदेशोत्तमा न- ३
 गरहार इति प्रतीतः । तत्र द्विजातिरुदितोदितवंशजन्मा नाम्नेन्द्रगुप्त-
 हति राजसस्त्रो बभूव ॥ र [!] उमे [!] कथा द्विजवरः स गुणी ग- ४
 हिण्या युक्तो रराज कलया मलया यथेन्दुः । लांकः पर्तिवतकथा प-
 रिभावनासु सङ्कीर्तिनं प्रथमसेव करोति यस्याः ॥ नाभ्यामजा- ५
 यत् सुतः सुतरां विंककी यो बाल एव कालतः परलोकबुद्ध्या । सर्वो-
 पभोगसुभर्गेपि गृहं विरक्तः प्रवज्यया सुगतशासनमभ्युप- ६
 तुं ॥ वेदानधीत्य सकलान् कृतशास्त्रचिन्तः श्रीमल्कनिष्ठमपग-
 न्त्य महाविहार । (five letters illegible) मथस प्रशमप्रशस्य सर्व-
 इशान्वितमनुगम्य ७

नपश्चाग ॥ सायं विशद्गुणसमृतभूरकीर्तेः धिष्याऽनुस्पृणशी
 लयशोभिगमः । आलेन्द्रवस्त्कालकलङ्कविमुक्तकान्तिर्वन्द्यः ८
 सदा मुनिजनेरपि वीरदेवः ॥ वज्रासनं वन्दितुमेकदाऽथ श्रीमन्महा
 वाधिनुपागतांस्त्रौ । द्रृग्ं ततोऽगात्महृदेशिभून् श्रीमद्यशोवर्म
 पुर्वं विहारं ॥ तिष्ठन्थेह सुचरं प्रातिपत्तिसारः श्रीदेवपालभुव-
 नाधिपलव्यधूजः । प्राप्तप्रभः प्रातिदनोदयपूर्वताशः पूषेव दार्शन १०
 नमःप्रसारं गग्न ॥ भिक्षेगत्मसमः सुहृदभुज इव श्रीसत्यवा-
 द्ये निजं नालन्दापरिपालनाय नियतः सद्वास्थिते य स्थितः । यन्नैतो स्फु ११
 दमिन्द्रशेलमुकुटश्रीचैत्यचूडामणी श्रीमण्डवतसम्बृतेन जगतः
 श्रेयोर्धमुच्छापितो ॥ नालन्दया च परिपालयितयेह सत्या श्रीम १२
 द्विद्वय्यागविभूषणताङ्गया । उद्गमितोर्धपि बहुकीर्तिविभूप-
 नित्वं यः साधु साधुर्गति साधुजनैः प्रशस्तः ॥ चिन्ताज्ञरं शमयताः
 त्त्वं १३
 म्य दृष्ट्या धन्वनर्पि हि यंन हृतः प्रभावः । यश्चाप्सतार्थपर्पूर्ण-
 मनेरथेन लोकेन कल्पतरहतुल्यतया गृह्णितः ॥ तनैतद्- १४
 च रुतमात्मसमोवदुच्चैर्वज्ञमनस्य भवनं भुवनोत्तमस्य । संजायतं
 यद्भिर्वीत्य विमानगानां कैलासमन्दरमहीधशङ्कशङ्का ॥ सर्वं १५
 स्वापनयेन सत्त्वसुहृदामोदर्य [?] मभ्यस्यता सम्बोधो
 विहितस्तुहं सह गुणेविष्पद्विर्विर्य [?] नथा । अब्रस्थेन निज
 निजार्वह वृहत्पुण्याधिकारं १६
 स्थितं यंन स्वेन यशोध्वंजेन घटितो वंशावुदीचीपथे ॥ सांपानमार्ग-
 मिव मुक्तिपुरु [?] म्य कीर्तिमेतां विधय कुशलं यदुपात्तमस्मात् [?] १७
 कुन्वादितः सपितरं गुरुवर्गमस्य सम्बोधिमेतु जनराशरशोष
 एव ॥ यावन्कर्मा जलधिवलयां भूतधात्रीं विभर्ति ष्वान्तधर्मसं १८
 तपति तपनो यावद्वाग्यरामः । मिन्दधालोकाः शिर्शरमहसा
 यामवत्यश्य यावत्तावक्त्वार्तिर्जयतु भुवने वीरदेवस्य श्रभा ॥ १९

1 The Rev. Dr. J. Wenger who kindly undertook the laborious task of correcting the proofs of these Inscriptions, remarks that the word Vāsanauvana does not occur in the text. The word actually used is Jaśovarmapura, Varma being the title of a dynasty of kings. Vāsanauvana may of course be a synonym. The Inscription appears to be metrical, but has not been printed as such. Strange to say, the Sanskrit is far purer than is usually found in Inscriptions of the Pāla kings. [This note is signed " A. M. B. ", i. e., A. M. Broadley, Esq., C. S., the author of the paper on " The Buddhist Remains of Bihar," in which the above Transcript and Translation was included] — N. B. U.

TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the glorious lord of Munis, who, by his mind, operating for the good of all creatures, found out the system of truth and who is the only bridge for crossing the ocean of worldly existences; which [bridge] the crocodiles of sins, producing affliction, cannot approach. May he the glorious being, seated on the seat of adamant (Vajrāsana) under the Bodhi tree, protect the whole universe,—he, whom the fancy-born (god of love) shunned from a distance, as if reflecting that there was no shame in it, if he single-handed were powerless to attract the mind of lord of the three worlds, when his superiors who had gathered together, proved unable to do so. There is a country known as **Nagarahāra**, the land of which is the ornament of **Uttarāpatha** (Northern India). There was a Brahman there of the name of **Indragupta**, the friend of the King, who was born in a family, that had risen high. The meritorious and excellent Brahman shone like the moon with his spotless digits,—united to a wife,—[one word illegible] a wife, of whom mention is first made by people in going over the stories of faithfnl wives. From them was born a son who was exceedingly thoughtful, and whose mind even in childhood was filled with thoughts of the next world, and even in his house, rich in all the means of enjoyment, he remained unconcerned [took to no pleasure], in order, by the renunciation of the world, to adopt the system of Sugata. Having studied all the Vedas and reflected on the Śāstras, he went to the Vihāra of Kaniska, and following him who was praiseworthy on account of his severity, and who was all-knowing and free from passions [two or three words illegible], he practised, penance. The pupil of one who, by his pure virtues, had obtained great fame, he, Viradeva — graceful by the possession of befitting virtues, character and fame, and with a lustre free from the stains of Kali, was like the new moon, an object of adoration even to the Munis. He once came to the great Bodhi to pay his respects to the Vajrāsana (adamantine seat), and thence went to see the mendicant priests of his country to the Yaśovarmapura Vihāra. While staying here for a long time, respected by all and patronized by the King Devapāla, he, having obtained¹ splendour [of know-

¹ The three epithets here have a double meaning, one applicable to the sun, and the other to Viradeva.

ledge or power], outfilling by his every-day rise all the quarters, and dispelling darkness, shone like the sun. Appointed to protect (govern) Nālandā, he the friend of the Bhikṣu, as if he were his arm, abided by his true knowledge concerning the Church¹ (or congregation : Saṅgha), and having already taken the vow of a Śramana, erected, for the good of the world, two crest-jewels in the shape of Caityas, on the crown (summit) of Indrasaila. Though shining bright by means of Nālandā,² who having been protected by him, had her body adorned with a splendid row of Vihāras, he was praised by the good people saying " well done, well done," when he became the husband of the wife Great Fame. Dispelling the fever of anxiety of afflicted persons by a mere look, he put to shame the might of Dhanvantari,³ and was regarded as equal to a Kalpataru,⁴ by people whose desires he had fulfilled by granting to them all objects, wished for. By him was erected this house for the best thing in the world, the adamantine seat (Vajrāsana), as lofty as his own mind, which the movers in the aerial cars mistake for a peak of Kailāsa or Mandara, when they look at it. With his desires fixed on enlightenment (or true knowledge : Sambodhi) and with a heroism rivalling his other qualities, he, practising liberality to the friends of all creatures by giving his all, and exercising his holy authority here, hoisted the banner of his fame on the two poles of his family,⁵ (family of father and mother) in Uttarāpatha. Since in the shape of his famous deeds, he erected a staircase to ascend the place of final emancipation and obtained religious merit, may all people without exception, headed by his father and all the elder ones, attain to real knowledge (Sambodhi) ! May the bright family of Viradeva last in the world as long as the tortoise bears the earth begirt with the seas, as long as the Sun with his warm rays, the destroyer of darkness, shines, and as long as the cool-beamed Moon renders the nights bright !

1 That is, it is of great importance to have a united Church and to construct Vihāras for congregational purposes.

2 Compared to a wife.

3 Physician of the gods.

4 A heavenly tree having the power of granting anything desired.

5 The word " Vamśa " means " race or family " or a " pole or bamboo, " and is here used in both the senses.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WRITINGS INCLUDED
IN THIS VOLUME.

1871

- .1 A Transcript and Translation of a Copperplate Grant of the Fifth Century A. D., found in Gujarat ; (pp. 246-256).

1872

- 2 A Devanāgarī Transcript, Translation and Date of a Valabhi Copperplate, and a new Interpretation of the Figured Dates on the Grants of the Valabhi Dynasty ; (pp. 214-238).
3 On Two Copperplates from Valabhi ; (pp. 229-242).
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- 7 A Morbi Copperplate with Transcript and Translation ; (pp. 243-245).

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- 8 On the Valabhi Chronology ; (pp. 257-260).

1878

- 9 A Revised Transcript and Translation of a Cālukya Copperplate Grant, with remarks on the Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Kings of the Cālukya dynasty ; (pp. 261-274).
10 A Memorandum on Some Antiquarian Remains found in a Mound and in the Brahmapuri Hill, near Kolhapur ; (pp. 411-419).

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- 11 On Dr. Hoernle's Version of a Nasik Inscription and the Gāthā Dialect ; (pp. 366-383).
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- 13 The Early History of the Deccan down to the Mahomedan Conquest, with three Appendixes : (1) on the Gupta Era, (2) on

- the Śaka dates, and (3) the text of Hemādri's Rājaprasastis ; [First Edition ; Second Edition published in 1895] ; (pp. 1-198).
- 1887
- 14 A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java ; (pp. 353-362).
- 1889
- 15 The Epoch of Gupta Era [with a Note on Dr. Fleet's Transcript and Translation of the Mandasor Inscription] ; (pp. 384-405).
- 1892
- 16 A Transcript and Translation of the Deoli Plates of the Rāstrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa III ; (pp. 293-305).
- 17 Two Sets of Rāstrakūṭa Copperplates from the Navasari District ; (pp. 318-334).
- 18 A Kalacuri Copperplate Grant from the Belgaum District ; (pp. 340-352).
- [1895]
- [Second Edition of the Early History of the Deccan].
- 1897
- 19 The Rāstrakūṭa Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III ; (pp. 275-292).
- 1898
- 20 A Note on Three Bricks with impressions of Figures and Letters on these found at Tagoung, Some 200 Miles above Mandalay in Burma ; (pp. 363-365).
- 1899
- 21 A Revised Transcript and Translation of the Rāstrakūṭa Deoli Plates of Kṛṣṇa III of Śaka-Samvat 862 ; (pp. 306-317).
- 1905
- 22 The work done by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society towards the Elucidation of Indian History by the study of Inscriptions ; (pp. 199-213).
- 1913
- 23 A Second Note on the Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman ; (pp. 406-410).

ABBREVIATIONS &c.

Ait. Brāh. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

Arch. S. of W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India
(Reports).

Cunningham : Arch. Report = Cunningham's Reports on the
Archaeological Survey of India.

Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.

JASB or JBAS. == Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
Calcutta.

JBBRAS. == Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic
Society, Bombay.

JRAS. == Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
and Ireland, London.

P. S. and O. C. == Pāli, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions.

Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc. = Transactions of the Bombay Literary
Society.

Trans. Or. Congr. = Transactions of the Congress of Orientalists
(held at different places in Europe).

Vikr. or Vikr. Ca. = Vikramāñkadevacarita, edited by G. Bühler,
Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 14.

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Minor misprints (such as those of spelling &c.) are not here shown.

In the genealogy on p. 108, read 675 Ś. for 875 (in No. 6, Dantidurga); and read Akālavarṣa for Amoghavarṣa I (in No. 12, Kṛṣṇa II).

